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ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

BY ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

OCTOBER 7, 1851.

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

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## REPORT.

If abolitionists were men to be daunted by obstacles or dismayed by opposition; if they were persons of weak faith, or if their faith rested on an uncertain foundation, the events and developments of the past year could have hardly failed to depress and dishearten them. During no previous period of our history has our cause had more to contend with, or abolitionists so much to try their faith. The slave power has been resorting to the most desperate expedients to bolster up their system, and a partial and temporary success has attended their efforts, which to some may have seemed ominous of further and still greater triumphs. The more reflective, however, will have seen nothing in these facts which was not fairly to be expected, or that is not susceptible of an easy and even hope-inspiring explanation.

The fact that the slaveholders are making extraordinary efforts to sustain their system, is only another proof of their belief that their system is in extraordinary danger; that they have observed the rising tide and growing power of abolitionism, and that they feel, as they acknowledge, that unless the most vigorous and systematic measures are employed, their system will be utterly swept away. They have noted the change which has gradually been taking place in the public sentiment toward them, and have seen that morally and politically their power to rule the country has begun rapidly to pass out of their hands. The last and most decisive proof to them of this, was their loss of California and New Mexico, territories the acquisition of which they had counted upon for large accessions to their strength. Their defeat in this regard, partial as it was, has had the effect of thoroughly alarming them, and has been received as the signal to them of a general rally. The bonds of union among themselves, ever kept firm by a common

interest, have been drawn still tighter by the increased signs of danger, and a series of the most resolute measures have been put in requisition to secure the safety of their institution, and to break down if possible the power which threatened its existence.

These measures have been favored in their operation by the concurrence of two circumstances, a reference to which will explain the partial success which has seemed to attend them and may serve to relieve some of the apprehensions which this success may have had the effect of exciting. The circumstances alluded to are, first, the approach of the Presidential election; and second, the accidental high price of Cotton. In these two facts severally and in their conjunction, is to be found a solution of most that has seemed extraordinary in the developments of the year or eighteen months just passed.

The approach of the Presidential election, a period usually pregnant with evil to the anti-slavery as well as other moral reforms, has this time operated with more than its ordinary potency, from the fact, singular it as may seem, that by a general understanding the candidates of both parties were to be furnished by the North. The South has had no difficulty in acquiescing in this arrangement, partly, it is to be presumed, from the reasonableness of conceding to the North the Presidency once in twelve years; and partly, because, from experience, a northern man with southern principles, or what is the same thing, a northern man without any principles, has been found as much to be relied on as a southern slaveholder. The politicians of the South, therefore, have been willing to waive for this time their prescriptive right to select the President, contenting themselves with announcing beforehand that no man can have their vote who may not be implicitly trusted with the safety of their peculiar interests. This being the understanding and expectation, the North has abounded with candidates, each one eager to prove his fitness for the office, by demonstrations of superior loyalty to the South and zeal in behalf of the peculiar institution.

Foremost among these is Millard Fillmore, the present incumbent of the Executive Chair. Ever since the event which elevated him to his present position, his constant care seems to have been to make friends of the Moloch of unrighteousness. His accession to power was distinguished by an immediate change of policy from

that of his more honest but less pretending predecessor, which, while it was a presage of evil to the friends of Freedom, sent a thrill of pleasure through the ranks of the slaveholders from one end of the land to the other. The instalment of Daniel Webster as his chief adviser, just after the publication by that degenerate statesman of his apostacy on the slave question; the pro-slavery change he made in the editorship of the Government organ at Washington; the countenance he gave to the so-called "Compromise measures," then pending in Congress, which measures his predecessor had inflexibly resisted; his signature to the Fugitive Slave Law after having first endeavored to escape responsibility for the act by going through the form of consulting his constitutional conscience-keeper the Attorney General; his truculent proclamation to the people of Massachusetts who refused to act the part of slave-catchers in the case of the fugitive Shadrach and his profound silence in view of the grossest infractions of the Constitution when committed on the persons of Northern citizens in slave-holding States—all this had but one look and apparently but one object, and that was his election to the Presidency for a second term. His unofficial movements have worn the same aspect. Southern watering places have been his resort even during the heats of mid-summer, and the family circles of Virginia slaveholders the chosen sphere of his private social relations.

But in all his efforts to make favor at the South, the President has had, in his Secretary of State, a formidable competitor. Daniel Webster has, almost from time immemorial, been an aspirant to the Presidency. He has professed all sorts of creeds, and held to every variety of political sentiment. He has made anti-slavery speeches at Niblo's, and pro-slavery speeches under the "October sun" at Richmond; he has been a Wilmot Proviso man, and an Anti-Wilmot Proviso man; he has blown hot at the South and cold at the North, and both hot and cold in the middle States; but up until the 7th of March, 1850, all without avail. He had never yet been chosen by any party as their candidate, and the time had come when his hopes would admit of no further postponement. He had passed the allotted period of human life, and his tottering steps admonished him that a strenuous effort must be made to reach the goal of his ambition, or it would be forever too late. Accord-

ingly he struck out a new and bold course for himself, and in his memorable speech of the day and year aforesaid, the public were duly advertised of the fact. From that day to this his face has been kept steadily to a single point of the compass, and his voice has been still for slavery. Our obligations to the South have been his theme wherever he has gone, and the duty of saving the Union by the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and his own personal sacrifices in this behalf, have constituted the burden of his speeches. Wherever he has had an opportunity of holding forth, whether at Harrisburg, Boston, Dunkirk, Buffalo, Syracuse or Albany, his cry has been the same—our obligations to the South, the necessity of the Fugitive Slave Law, the crime of resisting its execution.

His followers, taking the cue from their leader, have re-echoed his utterances and improved them with their own exaggerations. They have dilated upon the wrongs done the South, have uttered their calumnies against the abolitionists, have scoffed at the idea of a higher law, have enlarged upon the duty of sustaining the Fugitive Slave Act, and of supporting all law as law, and have wearied the welkin with their plaudits of the great Expounder of the Constitution.

The pulpit too has been made to minister to the ambitious purpose of the Secretary, and to justify and hallow the acts on which rests his hopes of elevation. In all ages despotism has felt the necessity of pressing religion into its service, and has never been at a loss for tools; and the era of the Fugitive Slave Law forms no exception to the truth of this remark. Doctors of theology, all over the land, have shown themselves ready, both in their pulpits, and by their pens, to do their part in the work expected of them. Sermons in large numbers have been written to justify slavery, to glorify the American Union, and sanctify the Fugitive Slave Law. The Stuarts, Deweys, Boardmans, Springs, Adamses, Potts', Wainwrights, Speneers, Lords, Sharps, and Coxes, rabbis of all denominations, have taxed their brains and exhausted their rhetoric to meet the emergency. The mails from Washington during the past winter, have been freighted with their pestiferous divinity, and the secular press has surfeited the people with its praises.

Such have been the tactics employed by Mr. Fillmore and Daniel Webster, during the time we have indicated, and such they

will doubtless continue to be, until the time shall come for the party to make its nomination.

On the Democratic side, this mode of operation has had its parallel. Numerous are the aspirants among the democracy for the honor of serving their country as its chief magistrate; but most prominent among them at this time, are the names of Messrs. Cass and Buchanan. The latter has, perhaps, the greater claims upon our attention, from the fact, not that he is a Pennsylvanian, though that is something, but because his course exhibits with especial clearness the point we are endeavoring to illustrate. Not over scrupulous as to means, and an implicit believer in the lower law, Mr. Buchanan has seen from the beginning, that the most likely way of attaining the object of his ambition was to affect a zealous devotion to Southern institutions. In his readiness to meet the demands of the slave power, he has not only gone as far, but farther than the farthest of his competitors. His name has been quoted with approbation on the floor of the Nashville Convention, and his sanction claimed for one of the distinctive measures of that body. Mr. Buchanan has, therefore, this advantage over his rivals, that he is not only a Northern man with Southern principles, but a Union man with disunion supporters. In vain has General Cass, in vain has Mr. Dallas, in vain had Levi Woodbury—now gone to his account—in vain have they all tried to cope with their Pennsylvania rival in his efforts to propitiate the Southern impracticables. Much as they have been willing to concede, Mr. Buchanan has always been ready to yield more. He would not only give them the Missouri line through to the Pacific, and all the territory south of it as ground for the extension of their system, but if this should not be sufficient—judging from the course of his especial organ and particular friends in the city of Philadelphia—he would “liberate” for them the Island of Cuba, and by the easy process of annexation establish them in possession of the richest slaveholding gem of the seas. These are advantages which Mr. Buchanan has over his rivals; and if his chances should not be greater than theirs, it is because absolute prostration has no greater merit with the slaveholder than a less profound obeisance; or, if it has, it is a merit which, among the free people of the North, meets with a different appreciation.

It is not our intention, however, to speculate upon these gentle-

men's chances either for the presidency, or for the nomination, but simply to show how the approaching election operates in favor of the slaveholder, and conspires with other causes to give him a temporary advantage. Four years ago the balance of electoral power that was to decide the Presidential contest, was held in the North, and, as a consequence, loud were the protestations in favor of freedom and the Wilmot Proviso; now by a combination of circumstances, natural, and to have been looked for, the balance is in the other direction, and as a matter of course profound is the court which is paid to slavery. Such is the influence which politics have exercised to give to the slavery question its present aspect. Now let us see how far the other, the commercial cause referred to, has operated to produce the same effect.

For the last few years the price of cotton has been unusually and part of the time excessively high, and money has flowed into the laps of the slaveholders, in an unwonted manner. The effect of this has been at the South, to enhance the value of slaves, to intensify the attachment of slaveholders to their system, and at the same time to furnish them with means to sustain it; while at the North its influence has been to propitiate the favor of a certain class of men with easy consciences, and a large stock of dry goods, and to enable them to conquer some of their inconvenient prejudices. Southern merchants, it is well known, buy their wares in northern markets; they are important customers, and must by all means, be conciliated. It is the business of the genuine salesman to be, in his line, all things to all men, and if, for the time being, the slaveholder should be of all men the most promising customer, he must in an especial manner be all things to him. But the slaveholder has a horror of abolitionism, he hates the Wilmot Proviso, he declares that the slaves are well treated, that the South is aggrieved, that the Fugitive Slave Law should be enforced, and the abolitionists put down; and finally, that he will buy goods of no man who is tainted with their "infernal principles." The merchant has his cue; so have his clerks and all who are dependent on him. He too hates abolitionism, and is opposed to the Wilmot Proviso; he has no doubt that the slaves of the South are better off than the free negroes of the North; he holds that the Fugitive Slave Law ought to be enforced, and believes that the South has been shamefully imposed upon. More than this, he has made up his mind never to

buy a piece of silk from an Abolitionist or Free Soiler, or to give his vote at the next election to any candidate who may not be counted upon for a hearty support to the Compromise. His neighbor and rival, not to be out-done, harps upon the same string, and in his emulation perhaps goes still farther. Tradesmen follow in the same direction. The newspapers take up the song, and while they turn it to their own account help the work forward. The clergy, ever ready to follow in the wake of public opinion, renew their denunciations of abolition, and for a time, it seems as if the whole community had undergone a change of principle, and the cause of slavery had risen higher in the ascendant. But this is only appearance, not reality. There has been no radical change. There are no fewer abolitionists in the community than there were before, and no more pro-slavery men. The people's principles are the same. The only difference is that their selfishness has taken a new form, and the dishonesty that was in them has been allowed to develop itself. Wait a little, and a reverse action in the wheel of affairs—a change in the current of events, will put a new aspect on things, and the tide will again set in in the direction of freedom, and that with accelerated rapidity. For while the change in favor of slavery has only been seeming, there has all this time been real progress or an under-current and in an opposite direction. The politician or merchant who was last year an advocate of the Wilmot Proviso and is this year a champion of the Fugitive Slave Law, has been the same man in both cases. If in either case his profession represented more correctly than in the other his real feelings, it was while he was advocating the doctrines of liberty; for there is no man who in his heart of hearts does not hate slavery, and who would hesitate to avow it if his supposed interests did not prevent him. Slavery has nothing in its character to justify it or to commend it to men's favor, and during all the effervescence which its advocates have been producing, it has been making no real converts.

But not so with anti-slavery; that is the truth, and the truth has been onward, finding its way steadily to the minds of the people. The developments of the past year have added to our ranks new converts and able champions. Let politics but assume a different shape, as they soon will, and let the price of cot-



ton fall, as it inevitably must, and the appearance of affairs will be reversed, and the anti-slavery cause will move forward with a speed visibly accelerated. Such is at least our hope, and such is our confident expectation.

Our remarks, thus far, have been of a general character, and have had reference to the Cause at large. It will be proper, however, in a review of this kind, to look somewhat more minutely at the history of the contest in our own State, and to examine with more attention the obstacles which it has here had to encounter. The controversy in Pennsylvania has turned mainly upon two points—the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law and the repeal of the Act of Assembly of 1847. Between these two measures the public interest has been nearly equally divided. We had cherished the hope that the Fugitive Slave Law would have been from the beginning—as we are confident it must be in the end—a dead letter, and that it would even by this time have taken its place on the statute books among those laws which are more honored in the breach than in the observance; and such, possibly, might have been the case, had it not been for the causes to which we have already adverted. Among the people, the law meets with no genuine favor; even the lowest and most unprincipled, with a few exceptions, revolt from its execution. But the politicians of the South demand its enforcement, and the expectants at the North make haste to obey. The followers of one Presidential candidate are eager to promote their masters' ends by their zeal in their behalf, and the adherents of others are not to be outdone. Our presses teem with editorials in favor of the odious statute, and with sneers at all who recognize any law that is higher. As a consequence, Pennsylvania has taken the lead of all other states, in the business of slave hunting, and in this respect enjoys a most detestable pre-eminence.

It is a humiliating fact that Pennsylvania has furnished more victims to the Fugitive Slave Law, than all the other States of the Union put together.

There have been up to this time twenty-six cases, in which alleged fugitives from slavery have been delivered, under the new law, and sent back from this State into slavery. Of these, six occurred in Philadelphia, and eleven in Harrisburg, all east of the mountains except three. The arrests in nearly all these cases

have been made under warrants issued by two Commissioners—Edward D. Ingraham, of Philadelphia, and Richard McAllister, of Harrisburg. These men have rendered their names pre-eminently infamous, by the indecent readiness with which they have performed the odious functions of their office. Destitute of moral sense, and devoid of all proper feeling of shame, they have made themselves the Iscariots of their day and generation. Entitled for each of their deeds to the legal fee of “ten pieces of silver,” they have, without the remorse of their prototype, again and again repeated his crime. Their names are already held in abhorrence by all good men, wherever they are known, and the curse of the poor, and them that are ready to perish, have come upon them.

McAllister and Ingraham, however, though they may be distinguished above others for their turpitude in this matter, do not stand alone in their guilt. They have co-laborers and accomplices, ranging from the Supreme Judicial bench down to the lowest functionary of the law, and from the U. S. Marshal to the meanest kidnapper. The future historian in his study of the bloody assizes of 1851, and of the men who were connected with them, will find in the records, the names indiscriminately, of Ingraham and Grier, Alberti and Kane, McAllister and Egan, Roberts, Halzell, Lehman, Lee, McMurtrie and others, of less distinction or notoriety as the case may be, all taking part, officially, professionally, or as volunteers, in hunting down the fugitive slave, and delivering him over to his master; and it will be for him to determine the share of responsibility and guilt to be awarded to each.

It would require too much space to go into a very minute history of all the fugitive cases that have occurred within the bounds of this Commonwealth, though it is proper that we should make such a record of the leading circumstances of each as will be of value for future reference.

The first case that occurred under this law, coming within the range of observation, happened in Philadelphia, immediately after the adjournment of this Society, one year ago. The facts in the case were briefly these:—

## CASE OF HENRY GARNET.

On the 21st of October, 1850, a colored man of the name of Henry Garnet, engaged as a hod-carrier on the Ridge Road, near Poplar street, was seized at his work by a gang of slave-catchers, headed by a deputy marshal, and under the authority of a warrant issued that morning by Judge Grier, of the U. S. Circuit Court. He was taken before that Judge, on the claim of one Thomas Price Jones, of Cecil Co., Maryland, as the son and executor of Benedict Jones, from whom it was asserted Henry escaped in 1842.

Judges Grier and Kane being on the bench, Hugh W. Tener appeared as counsel for the slave hunter, and David Paul Brown, Charles Gibbons, Robert P. Kane and William S. Peirce as counsel for the respondent.

The trial did not occupy much time, as Mr. Tener was entirely unable to make out a case for his client. His papers to prove ownership and the right to reclaim, were not properly certified, and therefore were ruled out; and the testimony of his chief witness was not received, as being a party in interest. He asked a postponement in order to send to Maryland for proper certificates, but this was of course objected to by the counsel for the defendant.

The Court decided against postponement, and in giving this decision, Judge Grier is represented by the Pennsylvania Freeman as holding the following language:—

“The Judge said that he had done everything he could as a judge for the claimant. He had himself taken his deposition, acting as clerk, which he certainly was not bound to do—and granted the warrant secretly, to prevent any knowledge or suspicion of it getting to the fugitive or his friends. He had warned the claimant to take good counsel, and be sure he was ready, and that his proofs were all in order—and knowing the excitement in the community on this subject, and the disposition to resist and disobey the law, he had determined to hear the case himself. He said he had read in the papers accounts of meetings all over the North, at which resolutions were passed advising the negroes to arm themselves against this law. It was treason and rebellion against the Government. He had even heard that in this city, and on the *Holy Sabbath*, such a meeting had been held, and one of the speakers had declared that if a negro should shoot down the United States Marshal for an attempt to execute this law, he would acquit the negro. Such sentiments were almost too monstrous for belief, and the men who uttered them were the worst enemies of the colored race. With a fiendish malignity they were pushing that people to a precipice, and pushing them off.—‘I have resolved’, he continued, ‘to maintain and execute the law at whatever cost. If there is any resistance to its execution, I will call for all the force at the Navy Yard, and if necessary, I will demand a posse from the Mayor and

five hundred troops from the President ; the law shall be sustained if I have to wade through blood and shoot down every colored person in Philadelphia.' "

After this ebullition, the Judge declared the testimony to be insufficient, and ordered the prisoner to be discharged.

#### CASE OF ADAM GIBSON.

The next case that occurred, was the noted one of Adam Gibson, a case in which, it will be remembered, Commissioner Ingraham, with the most indecent haste, on perjured testimony, and in the face of the testimony of honest men, delivered a free man into the hands of kidnappers, to be carried off to southern slavery. The following extract from the Pennsylvania Freeman of December 20th, 1850, gives a full account of the whole transaction.

The first victim, in this city, immolated on the New Slave Catching Law was offered up by Edward D. Ingraham, the Fugitive Slave Commissioner, on Saturday last.

The whole proceedings, the most of which we were fortunate enough to witness, were so despotic and arbitrary, and so truly illustrative of the spirit of that Law, and the facts are themselves so exciting, that the case requires as full a report of them as our limits will permit. These facts we give below :

At about noon on Saturday, a young colored man named Adam Gibson, from New Jersey, where he has resided for several years as a farmer and market man, and where he has sustained the reputation of a worthy and estimable man, was seized in the market, while engaged in selling evergreens for Christmas decorations to the churches, by the notorious George F. Alberti, aided by two kindred characters named Wm. McKinley and Robert A. Smith. He was arrested on the pretended charge of stealing chickens, and without a warrant, and with a pistol placed at his head, to prevent resistance, he was dragged by his ruffian captors with all possible haste before E. D. Ingraham, a Fugitive Slave Commissioner under the recent Slave Catching Act of Congress. Ingraham has long distinguished himself as the counsel of kidnappers and slave hunters in this city, and for his hatred and contempt toward the people of color. He has publicly declared that he *would never take the oath of any colored man* on a fugitive slave case. It was fitting that he should be chosen as the legal tool of the kidnapper Alberti.

The prisoner, Adam Gibson, was claimed by Alberti, under power of attorney, as *Emory Rice*, a slave of Wm. S. Knight of Cecil County, Md. Emory Rice was described in this document, as a man thirty-five years old, and of *dark copper complexion*. Adam Gibson, the prisoner, was very *black*; and apparently from *twenty to twenty-three* years old.

Wm. E. Lehman, Esq., appeared as counsel for the claimant, and W. S. Peirce, Elwood Evans, and T. B. Handbest, Esqrs., for the prisoner. The latter asked a postponement of the case, to give opportunity to bring witnesses for the defendant from New Jersey, and Wilmington, Delaware, but the request was denied by the Commissioner.

The only witness introduced by the claimant to identify the prisoner as the slave claimed, was one J. Frisbee Price, a man who bears the reputation

of being a confederate in a gang of kidnappers, and who is now under indictment bail in this city for kidnapping, and whose hang-dog look was quite in keeping with such a business. He swore that he knew the prisoner as Emory Rice, and the slave of Knight, *thirteen years ago*, in 1839, when he appeared to be 21 or 22 years old; that he saw him from that time occasionally up to 1841, when he (the prisoner) ran away; that he knew that Emory worked for Knight and was reputed to be his slave. On cross-examination he admitted that he remembered no personal marks or peculiarities of appearance or voice, by which he could identify the prisoner; he could give no reason for fixing 1838 as the time he knew Emory, but he *knew that was the time*: he had not seen him since 1841, until recently in this city; an admission was extorted from him that he had been indicted for kidnapping, and that he had talked with Knight and Alberti about this case several times before the arrest of Adam, though he asserted he had not been promised any share in the reward. He stated that free colored men were sometimes employed by Maryland slaveholders, but the Commissioner promptly stated that a colored person working for a slaveholder in Maryland is presumed to be a slave, and that the laws of Maryland must govern in such questions.

The other witness, Geo. T. Price, was a relative of Frisbee Price, and his bail in the kidnapping case. His place of business is in Bank street, in this city. He swore to Knight's signature to the power of attorney, but said he could not identify the prisoner as Emory Rice, though he had frequently seen Emory some years ago in Maryland. He also admitted, very reluctantly, on cross examination, that he had conferred with Alberti and Knight several weeks ago and at several times about the arrest of Emory; that he had known Alberti for several years, had often had *private business* with him (the nature of which he refused to tell) and that he had often conversed with Alberti in reference to "negroes."

The application for a postponement of the case, to afford opportunity to bring witnesses, was then renewed by David Paul Brown, who had come in to assist in the defense; the prisoner, Adam Gibson, making oath that witnesses were absent in Wilmington, Del., in New Jersey and in this city, by whom he could prove his freedom.

It was urged that the young man had been seized on the fraudulent charge of *stealing chickens*; that he did not know he was arrested as a fugitive, until brought before the Commissioner; that he and his friends were entirely ignorant of the grounds of this charge; that they had no opportunity for consultation together, and not a moment was given them to send for witnesses; that this was a matter not only of infinite importance to the prisoner, but of great importance to the public. Being the first case in this city under the new law before a Commissioner, it would be made a precedent for future action, to sanction the arrest of any freeman upon a false pretense, and his condemnation to life-long slavery without opportunity to defend himself or to send for his friends. The example of Judge Grier in postponing a similar case, was also urged, (as an authoritative precedent.) But argument and appeal were in vain. Finding a reasonable postponement could not be obtained, the counsel for the prisoner asked *but for a single hour*, and were refused that, the Commissioner declaring, (without hearing a word of evidence or argument in the defense) that it was a clear case, his mind was satisfied of the identity, and the law required *summary* action.

At this point, two respectable looking colored men, Samuel Anderson and Daniel Wilkins, were brought into court, as witnesses for the defense, and Mr. Brown demanded a hearing of their testimony, which the Commissioner granted; hinting very significantly that as he was *not a jury* he should not be influenced in his action by any thing which might be said—as his mind was already made up. So, indeed, whenever any argument or fact was subse-

quently introduced which seemed to alarm the claimants, the Commissioner would re-assure them by stating in substance, "*I am no jury, I shall decide according to the law, and permit no such consideration to sway me.*"

Samuel Anderson swore that he formerly lived in Maryland; that he knew both Emory Rice and Adam Gibson; that he had known Adam Gibson from his childhood; that he is about *twenty-three* years of age, and was formerly the slave of Parson Davis of Maryland: was never the slave of Knight or known by the name of Emory Rice; that Emory was a lighter colored, older and more slender man than Adam. The witness lived within about nine miles of Knight's, and near to where Adam lived; he left Maryland in 1843, when Adam was still there, living with Dr. Davis, Parson Davis having died. Adam came to Philadelphia a year or two later, since which time he had known him well and frequently seen him: he was confident that the prisoner was Adam Gibson.

Daniel Wilkins testified that he was raised in Maryland, came from there twenty-five years ago, before which he knew Charity Gibson, a slave of Parson Davis; that she had then a family of small children; he was in Maryland again in 1845, when he found that Parson Davis had died, and Charity was living with her family as a free woman: he visited her, and saw the prisoner Adam Gibson in her family as her son; and has since often seen Adam in this city.

He never knew Mr. Knight or Emory Rice, never heard that the prisoner belonged to Knight, or that he was called Emory Rice; he was perfectly satisfied that the prisoner was Adam Gibson.

Mr. Brown then read an extract of the will of Henry Lyon Davis, dated 10th March, 1840, and recorded in Kent county, Maryland. The will set forth that on the last day of the year succeeding the one he should die, his slaves should be freed on condition that they would go to Africa. His slaves were all named in the will. Among the names were those of Charity and Adam. This will, certified by a Maryland magistrate, had been obtained from a sister of Adam, and had never been seen by either of the witnesses for the defense. But it confirmed their testimony so far as it went. The magistrate's certificate stated that Mr. Davis died in 1840, thus confirming the defendant's witnesses on that point.

Messrs. Peirce and Brown followed in review of the testimony and exposure of the confederacy by which this colored man had been seized.

Mr. Brown's speech was one of remarkable power and eloquence. The torrent of indignation which he poured upon the heads of the confederates in this bare-faced kidnapping plot, would have overwhelmed them with shame, had they not been as devoid of shame as they were of honor.

Mr. Lehman, the counsel for Alberti, confident in his judge, made but little effort to argue his case, or rebut the proofs of the defence; but he spent some eloquence upon the assertion of his own humanity, honor and conscientiousness, the honesty and unimpeachable integrity of Alberti, and the purity of their poor abused and calumniated witness, Frisbee Price, all of which seemed sufficiently questionable to need strong assertion and confirming oaths.

The Commissioner, more to the indignation than the surprise of the audience, promptly decided for the claimant, and made out the certificate, dooming the prisoner to a life of slavery.

This decision was received with decided expressions of dissatisfaction, by nearly every man present.

Indeed, though they were generally strangers to us, we heard and saw enough to convince us that not a person present was satisfied with it, save

the kidnapping fraternity, their Counsel and Commissioner, all of whom had in the spoils they shared, *potent reasons* to satisfy them.

To the young sufferer the sentence came with bewildering surprise and a weight of agony. But a few hours before he was *free*, without a dream of danger, as conscious as any man of his right to liberty, and his ability to prove it; and now without one parting look upon his wife and child—who were waiting his return to their humble home, and the quiet and peace of their Saturday night, all unconscious of his doom—and almost before he had awakened from the surprise of his arrest, he was to be torn forever from his loved ones, and hurled into the fathomless gulf of Slavery. His few words of grief and his sad countenance would have touched any heart not steeled to sympathy and manly feeling. One hope seemed to buoy him up from despair—a frail one to those who knew the greediness of the hunters of men—that when he was carried to Maryland, Knight would not receive him as his slave, and that thus his freedom would be proved, and restored.

The sequel to this sad tale, which has since transpired, is a joy and triumph.

The cunning and avarice of the kidnappers overleaped their mark. To prevent a rescue of their victim and shift from themselves to the Government the expense and danger of transporting him to Maryland, Alberti made oath that he feared a rescue, and the man was delivered into the U. S. Marshal's hands to be delivered to Knight, in Cecil County. The Marshal believing the prisoner was not the slave claimed, gave orders to his deputies to return him safely in case Knight should disown a claim to him, as he hoped he might. Alberti and Frisbee Price both accompanied their prey and the officers to Elkton, on Saturday night. Very early on Sunday morning Alberti hired a team and drove to Knight's and brought him to Elkton to see his captive, when, to his chagrin, the slaveholder told him he had the wrong man; and refused to accept him or pay Alberti a cent of reward for his expedition. He also stated that Emory (for whom the slave-hound had the power of attorney,) was a man more than *forty* years old, or about twenty years older than Adam Gibson, the man brought to him. Finding their belief confirmed, the deputies had nothing left but to obey the Marshal's instructions, and return their prisoner immediately to Philadelphia.

A determination was exhibited by certain Maryland slave-catchers and petty dignitaries, to retain Adam among them, and but for the firmness and prompt action of the officers who had him in charge, it is probable that the poor fellow would have had no return to freedom.

Such undoubtedly would have been the case had he been given up to his captors, instead of the Marshal, as he would have been, but for their own attempt to avoid the danger and expense of his transfer to Maryland. In returning on Sunday night, Adam was separated from the deputies by falling from the cars, in attempting to jump upon the train when in motion: the train was soon checked and the officers returned for him, but missed him in the darkness. Adam walked on all night, through storm and darkness, arriving in this city, after travelling forty-five miles, just as the next train of cars arrived bringing the officers from whom this accident had parted him. We need not say that his reception by his friends was cordial and enthusiastic, and that the news of his return kindled a lively joy in thousands of hearts, and excited a still stronger indignation against the pirate conspirators who had plotted his enslavement, and the pirate Law which had instigated and bribed them to the deed, and afforded the means for its successful perpetration. Warrants have been issued for the arrest of the kidnapping confederates, and we trust they will learn, in a form in which they can appreciate, that the sentiment of justice still lives in our courts, and that man-stealing is as hazardous as it is an infamous employment here.

## CASE OF STEPHEN BENNETT.

The next case that came under our notice was that of Stephen Bennett, a resident of Columbia, who was delivered to his claimant by Judge Kane, on the 24th of January, 1851. The facts of the case as reported by the Public Ledger, and copied into the Pennsylvania Freeman, were as follows ;

"On the afternoon of the 23d of January, Officer Conner, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, arrested in a street of Columbia, Pa., a colored man, called there 'Bill Baker,' but alleged to be Stephen Bennett, slave of Captain Edward B. Gallup, of Baltimore, Md. The fugitive was engaged in sawing wood at the time of his arrest. It was alleged that he absconded from his master in July, 1847. The prisoner has a wife and child. The warrant under which the arrest was made, was issued by Commissioner Ingraham, and the person who made the arrest was specially deputed to that service by Mr. Ingraham. The alleged fugitive was brought to the city, and placed in the custody of the United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Mr. Ingraham fixed ten o'clock yesterday morning for the hearing of the case. Before the investigation commenced, the counsel for the fugitive presented a petition on his behalf to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, praying a habeas corpus. The Court granted the prayer of the petition, and awarded a writ returnable forthwith. It was served upon the Marshall, who returned that he had the body of Stephen Bennett in custody. R. C. McMurtrie, Esq., on behalf of the claimant, objected that the case had already been commenced before the United States Commissioner, who had entered upon the hearing. The Judge said that he was inclined to the belief that under the habeas corpus he was constituted by the Act of Congress a superior officer to the Commissioner, and was bound to hear the case *de novo*, as if it never had been before the Commissioner. The Marshal then returned more formally that Stephen Bennett was held by virtue of a warrant from U. S. Commissioner Ingraham.

Mr. Peirce objected to this return; that Mr. Ingraham was not appointed a Commissioner under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, but under the act of Congress of 1812. The latter act provides for the appointment of Commissioners to take bail and affidavits. Mr. Peirce contended that the act did not give the commissioner a right to issue warrants for the arrest of fugitives.

Judge Kane said that the act of 1850 gave to the Commissioners, under the act of 1812, authority to act under the Fugitive Slave Law. Those appointed under the first act acquired power to act under the last; by virtue of the act of Congress they have the powers of a Justice of the Peace to issue warrants of arrest.

Mr. Peirce said that the Commissioner was appointed for the city and county of Philadelphia, and that the fugitive had been arrested at Columbia, Pennsylvania.

The Judge said the warrant of the Commissioner extended over the Eastern District of Pennsylvania."

The case was then proceeded with, and the following persons appeared as witnesses for the claimant: Wm. P. C. Whittaker, Henry Helmkill, Jno. Conner, and Patrick Morris. There being



no rebutting testimony, and the Judge deeming the right of the claimant and the identity of the slave clearly made out, ordered a certificate to be given to Mr. Gallup, for the removal of the slave to Maryland. His freedom was afterwards purchased for the sum of \$700, the money having been raised by benevolent persons residing in Columbia.

#### CASE OF EUPHEMIA WILLIAMS.

The fourth case was that of Euphemia Williams, a woman who was arrested under the name of Mahala, and claimed as the property of W. T. J. Purnell. The trial of the case occupied several days, and was one of great interest. The facts that the alleged slave was the mother of six children, and that she had been by the acknowledgement of the claimant at least twenty-two years out of slavery, naturally increased the sympathies which in all these cases pervade the public feeling. The leading facts in the case as gleaned from reports published in the Ledger and other papers were as follows :

On the morning of the 6th of February, a woman was arrested at the corner of Fifth street and Germantown road, by Deputy-Marshals Halzel and Smith, assisted by Constable Egan, under the name of Mahala, her real name being Euphemia Williams. The arrest took place under the following circumstances : It was soon after day light, and Euphemia had just risen from bed, and was only partly dressed, when several persons entered her room, one of whom seized her. She cried "murder ! murder !" at the top of her voice, which aroused all the house. Her numerous family of children commenced wailing piteously, and her eldest daughter, a girl of about 16 years of age, ran out, crying, "O, they've got my mother, they've got my mother !" A woman from the story above, Sarah Truitt by name, a friend of Euphemia, made her appearance, to whom Euphemia appealed for help, saying, "Sarah, for God's sake save me !" at the same time clinging tenaciously around her neck ; but she was forced from her hold by the man who made the arrest, and amid much confusion and distress, was borne to the cab which took her to the Marshal's office. At ten o'clock she was brought before Commissioner Ingraham, upon a charge of being a fugitive from labor. She was alleged

to be the slave of William T. J. Purnell, of Worcester county, Maryland, and it was admitted by the claimant that she had been absent from him since 1829. Her children were born in this State, and the youngest is yet at the breast. Her husband is in custody of law, and it is alleged that he is the slave of another person in the same county, who will probably claim him at the expiration of his time.

At one o'clock a writ of *habeas corpus* was granted by Judge Kane to J. M. McKim and Passmore Williamson, returnable forthwith. The effect of this was to take the case out of Ingraham's hands, and bring it into the United States District Court. In half an hour the prisoner was brought into court. Large drops of sweat stood upon her forehead, and her expression of countenance indicated great mental agony.

Richard M'Murtrie, Esq., appeared for the claimant, and D. Paul Brown and Wm. S. Peirce for the respondent. The courtroom was filled by a dense crowd, including a large number of the most respectable white ladies. Mr. M'Murtrie opened the case. His proof, he said, would be, that Mahala, sometimes called Mahala Purnell, was born and bred a slave of Dr. George W. Purnell, of Worcester county, Maryland. He was in the habit of hiring her to the neighbors, and while under a contract of hiring, she escaped with a "boy" with whom she had "taken up," belonging to the person who hired her. The present claimant claimed her as administrator *de bonis non* of Dr. George W. Purnell. The witnesses for the claimant were then called, and although there were but two of them, their examination occupied the time of the court for the principal part of two days. Their names were Robert F. Bowen and Zachariah Bowen. The witnesses for the defence were Henry C. Cornish, John Cornish, Deborah Boyle and Sarah Sayley. The issue of the case will be found in the following report of Judge Kane's decision, which was published at the time in several of the daily papers:

Judge Kane said: "I do not think that in cases under this Act of Congress, or of a treaty, or a constitutional or legal provision for the extradition of fugitives from justice, that it is possible to imagine that conclusive proof could be established by depositions. From the nature of the case and the facts to be proved, proof cannot be made in anticipation of the identity of the party. That being established, it is the office of the Judge to determine whether a *prima facie* case indicates the identity of the party charged with the party before him.

There may be one, two or three witnesses examined, of respectable character, who swear to the identity, yet their error may be flagrant. They may be contradicted by the unanimous voice of the community. It cannot be that John Doe, a member of our bar, shall be sent away on the oath of two or three respectable Englishmen, charging him with a robbery of the Bank of England, when the evidence of hundreds establishes that he had never been out of the city of Philadelphia. It is the indispensable duty of the Judge, if there is a conflict of evidence, to permit his conscience to be enlightened. It is a mistake to say that a witness is uncontradicted because he is not impeached in terms. The witness who swears to a particular fact, in a particular place, on a particular day, may be contradicted by proof that the person charged was at another place at the time specified. Here the witnesses testify that in August, 1828, the respondent was a slave in Maryland. It is contradicted in the most distinct and important manner, by evidence, that long before, the party charged was a resident of Pennsylvania. It is the duty of the Judge to hear the evidence on the part of the respondent, and allow it to have a due influence on his judgment.

What, then, is the evidence in this case? Two gentlemen, residents of Maryland, have sworn, one with a sufficient degree of certainty as to time, the other with uncertainty as to time, as to the escape of a slave recognised as the person now arrested. They were led to this person by information in a letter detailing a conversation, on the authority of Mahala Richardson, recognising the respondent as a slave on Dr. Purnell's plantation. If the case had rested there, it would have produced great embarrassment. I had taken pains to consult works of authority in another profession, as to the degree of force to be ascribed to evidence of identity. The best physicians concur in the doctrine, that after a lapse of twenty years, the difference of identity is so great, where there is no mark, no peculiar bodily conformation, no marked physiognomy, that courts of justice are advised to regard with very great caution evidence of personal identity in such cases. The books are full of cases of identity, of persons deceased or alive, with two individuals. I refer to these. It is not necessary to adduce particulars, some in my own experience; one in particular, in which one of the respondent's counsel (Mr. Brown) was interested with me. It is the misfortune of the claimant, if his rights, after the lapse of time, depend on questions of identity. There was evidence, which could have been brought, which was not brought. Mahala Richardson, who opened the door when the officers went with the writ, was within the power of the Court, and might have been produced. She could have been brought on subpoena by the Marshal. Her testimony would have availed more than that of any other.

On the other hand, the evidence of the claimant has been met, and regarding the bearing of the witnesses for the respondent, met by witnesses who testified with apparent candor and great intelligence. If they are believed, then the witnesses for the claimant are mistaken.

"The question is, whether two witnesses for the claimant, who have not seen the respondent for twenty-three, one for twenty-four years, are to be believed in preference to four witnesses on the other side, three of whom have seen her frequently since 1826, and known her as Euphemia Williams, and the fourth who has not seen her for a quarter of a century, but testifies that when they were children, they used to jest each other about scars, which they still bear upon their persons; I am bound to say that the proof by the four witnesses has not been overthrown by the contrary evidence of the two who only recognised her when they called on her with the Marshal. One says he called her Mahala Purnell as soon as he saw her. He might be mistaken. He inferred he would find her at the place to which he went. There were three persons in the room, Mahala Richardson, whom he knew,

a young girl and the prisoner. If she had been alone, his recognition would have been of no avail. The fact is obvious to this court, that the respondent has no peculiar physiognomy or gait. It has been shown she has no peculiarity of voice; I cannot but feel that the fact alleged by the claimant is very doubtful, when the witnesses, without mark or peculiarity, testify that they can readily recognise the girl of fifteen in the woman of forty. The prisoner is therefore discharged."

The paper from which this report is taken, adds :

"A slight attempt at applause in the court-room, was promptly suppressed. The intelligence of the discharge of the woman was quickly spread to those without, who raised shouts of joy. The woman with her children were hurried into a carriage, which was driven first to the Anti-Slavery Office, where she received three cheers from the crowd which soon gathered, and then to the Philadelphia Institute in Lombard street, above Seventh. Here she was introduced to a large audience of colored people, who hailed her appearance with lively joy; several excited speeches were made, and great enthusiasm was manifested in and outside of the building and the adjacent streets. When Euphemia came out, the horses were taken out of the carriage, and a long rope was attached, which was taken by as many colored people as could get hold of it, and the woman and her children thus conveyed to her home. The procession was accompanied by several hundreds of men, women and boys. They dragged the carriage past the residence of the counsel for the respondent, cheering them by huzzas of the wildest kind, and then took the vehicle to the residence of the woman, Germantown road, near Fifth street, beguiling the way with songs and shouts. The whole scene was one of wild excitement, produced by exuberance of joy."

#### CASE OF HANNAH AND RICHARD DELLAM.

The next case was one of scarcely less interest than that of Euphemia Williams, but sadly different in its termination. The following report, abbreviated from an account in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, gives the principal facts of the story.

"On the 4th of March a company of slave-hunters from Baltimore County, Maryland, headed by Samuel Halzell, deputy U. S. Marshal, made an irruption on a quiet settlement of colored people in Columbia, and captured a woman and her son, a lad aged about 12 years. The woman was just approaching the 'martyrdom of maternity,' bearing within her, as her counsel expressed it, a 'double principle of life,' and her son was a remarkably bright and interesting looking boy. Their names are Hannah and Richard Dellam. They were brought to the City on Friday evening, and a hearing was appointed for the next morning before the Commissioner. In the mean time, two young lawyers, Messrs. Myers and Ludlow, hearing of their arrest, volunteered in their defense, and took out a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, bringing the prisoners before Judge Kane. Another case occupying the Court for the greater part of Saturday, the case was postponed until Monday morning at 10 o'clock, when it came up in due form. The Court-room and the avenues leading to it were crowded with a respectable and deeply interested auditory,—a large number of ladies being present, who mostly remained throughout the whole day, the Court continuing until evening without adjournment.

John Perdu, of Baltimore, Co., Md., appeared as the claimant of the wo-

man and child under the names of Ellen and Henry: R. M. Lee and a Mr. Bennett acting as his counsel.

For the defense appeared Messrs. David Paul Brown, W. S. Peirce, Myers and Ludlow.

D. P. Brown, on opening, said, that this was a case of somewhat extraordinary importance, involving features of a peculiar character. I take leave to suggest to you the necessity that may arise of asking for a temporary postponement, and expect when the time comes, we shall have the opportunity of presenting our case as we would have had if the motion for postponement was now made.

Here is a woman bearing within herself a double principle of life. Liberty and slavery reside, at the present time, in the same person; and blossom and bough may both be withered at the same touch. If the necessity should arise, he wished to have the benefit of this early application, if the counsel for the complainant should oppose it, as not having been made in time. He therefore stated it at the proper time.

Judge Kane assenting, the return to the *habeas corpus*, was made, and under it Mr. Peirce moved to quash the warrants of the arrest, and discharge the prisoners, on the ground of the insufficiency of the warrants. The warrants do not set forth with sufficient certainty a description of the persons of the fugitives, nor was there a certificate that an oath had been made that the alleged fugitives owed service to any person. The description set forth Ellen as a negress and Henry as a negro boy, without further description. To show the insufficiency of the evidence, he quoted from 4 Cranch, 449.

Judge Kane overruled the motion, on the ground that no description of the person in the warrant was necessary, in a case of this kind.

The affidavits taken in Baltimore county, Maryland, were offered and objected to by Mr. Brown. He said he would object to every thing upon principle, which he considered informal. This was not a case in which they were called upon to be liberal. He read the sixth section of the fugitive law, to show that a warrant must be secured from a proper Court, or the fugitive seized by a proper agent, or by affidavit taken before a proper legal officer with a certificate of his magistracy, with the seal of the Court attached. It was never contemplated in the law, that the claimant should make the affidavit in his own case; that the party owed servitude. The party who is the witness here offered, is plaintiff in the suit, and twenty seals of Court cannot give it validity. If offered now as a witness, to swear to the facts he swore to in his affidavit, he would not be listened to, and can he be heard there, through his affidavit? A witness who would not be competent here, cannot be competent there, where the great touchstone of a cross-examination is wanting. A slave is positively prohibited from testifying there—and the owner, by implication, for there is nothing in the law allowing it, is asked to be permitted to testify in the absence of the defendant, which cannot be allowed in any Christian country.

Mr. Lee replied, that if the statements of Mr. Brown were borne out by the record, it would present one state of facts; but as the record was in accordance with the act of Congress, it was obligatory upon the Court. He referred in proof to the 6th and 10th sections of the law.

Mr. Brown replied, that he felt himself as well founded under the 10th section as under the 6th. The party by that section is to make sufficient proof, before a competent Judge, that the persons claimed are fugitives, and owe service to the claimant. But satisfactory proof is the highest order of testimony, and not the mere *ex parte* statement of the claimant. Judge Heath, of Maryland, did not determine that the proof was sufficient; that is for this Court to settle; that Judge only certifies that such proof was offered, was

taken before him, and has nothing to say as to its sufficiency. He merely forwards the deposition taken, to this Court. The affidavit mentions marks, &c., which can only be examined here.

Judge Kane decided that the deposition of the claimant was to be regarded only as a petition, though verified by an oath, that the certificate of Judge Heath conformed to the law in every particular, except in its omission to give "a general description," of the persons claimed, but that the accompanying depositions were proper evidence to be introduced.

Mr. Lee read two affidavits taken before Judge Heath, in Baltimore. They set forth that the deponents, Wm. Hunter and Arthur McCourt, knew the claimant, John Perdu, and certain fugitives, among whom were two named Ellen and Henry, and that they were slaves for life, together with Zachariah, Charley, Jane, Nicholas and Corbin; that they ran away in November, 1849. The affidavits give a general description of the woman and boy, which would apply equally well to a hundred other black women and children in this city.

The claimant then introduced as witnesses to prove the identity of the prisoners, Wm. Hutchins, his father-in-law, John and Nicholas Hutchins, his brothers-in-law, and John Holmes, a near neighbor, all of whom swore to the identity of both the prisoners; that they were Mr. Perdu's slaves, and that they ran away in November 1849.

A number of witnesses were then examined in behalf of the respondents, and an attempt made to prove that Hannah and her son had lived in Columbia at least a year prior to the date at which it was alleged she had absconded, but their testimony was not clear or satisfactory, and was met by rebutting testimony for the other side. This being the case the counsel for the respondent directed their principal efforts towards saving from slavery the child not yet born. They contended that it at least was not a fugitive, and that there was no law under which it could be carried into slavery. That even if the mother was decided to be the claimant's property, she should be detained in Pennsylvania till her child was born, as was done in the case of Lovey, decided by Judge Randall, which was quoted as precedent. But the reasoning of counsel and the precedent alleged were of no avail. Judge Kane decided in favor of the claimant and ordered a certificate to be made out, which consigned the woman and her unborn child to hopeless slavery."

#### CASE OF DANIEL HAWKINS.

Between this case and the next that occurred there intervened a period of four months, during which time the friends of freedom enjoyed a respite from the scenes which had been so harrowing to their feelings; but on the 21st of July this repose was interrupted by the arrest of a new victim; and from that time to this, the capture, summary trial and delivery of alleged fugitives, have been matters of such frequent occurrence, as to excite but little surprise though the interest that is felt in them is none the less painful.

The case above referred to is thus reported :

*Tuesday, July 22.*

U. S. COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.—Before Commissioner Edward D. Ingraham.—Yesterday afternoon, a colored man named Daniel Hawkins

apparently about twenty years of age, was brought from the Lancaster county jail, where he had been serving out a sentence of three months for larceny, in the custody of Constable John Agen, of Third ward, Southwark. He is said to belong to Wm. M. Risteau, of Baltimore, Md., from whom it is alleged he absconded a year ago last June. Before his conviction for larceny he had been residing at Columbia, Pa. The master obtained information of his conviction, and on Saturday night last, in company with constable Agen, who had a warrant for the arrest of the fugitive granted by Commissioner Ingraham, proceeded to Lancaster. The term of imprisonment of the alleged fugitive expired on Sunday night at twelve o'clock. A few minutes before that hour, the master and constable Agen went to the jail and paid the fine and costs of court in the suit, and at 12 o'clock arrested the slave in the prison, and in the morning started for Philadelphia, where they arrived at about 3 o'clock, yesterday afternoon. A committee of the Abolition Society were in waiting at the office of A. E. Roberts, U. S. Marshal, having probably obtained intelligence by telegraph from Lancaster, of the arrest. This committee is the most persevering set of men we have ever met with, and they never leave anything undone to secure the liberty of a fugitive slave. Before the hour of 4 o'clock arrived, which was fixed for a hearing, this committee had obtained a habeas corpus from Judge Grier, of the U. S. Circuit Court, to have the body of the alleged slave before him at ten o'clock this morning. The Commissioner remarked that the habeas corpus did not act as a supersedeas, and that he was prepared to hear the case; but as the counsel had left the room with the impression that the case would not be heard until this morning, the case was postponed. The slave was kept in the marshal's office all night.

At 10 o'clock this morning, the hearing of the habeas corpus was had before Judge Grier. D. P. Brown and R. P. Kane appeared for the alleged fugitive, and R. M. Lee and Bennett for the master.

R. M. Lee presented to the Court the returns of Marshal Roberts, stating the authority upon which he held the prisoner, and asked to be permitted to make out his case before the Commissioner, with a view of his being given into the custody of his master.

Judge Grier said that he had issued the habeas corpus merely for the purpose of ascertaining whether the warrant under which the fugitive was held, was legal in its character. It was not in the nature of a certiorari, to remove the proceedings from another body competent to give a hearing, nor would he allow himself to be made a committing magistrate at the whim and caprice of everybody.

D. P. Brown, for the prisoner, contended that the habeas corpus superseded the warrant of the Commissioner, but was willing if the Judge thought otherwise, to withdraw the habeas corpus without argument, preferring to have a decision on a point so important, at some other time, when there should be more leisure for deliberation.

Mr. Lee thought it would be wrong to withdraw the case from the Commissioner, as it would be casting an imputation upon him. He asked, therefore, that the prisoner be remanded to the custody of the Marshal, with a view to his being heard before the Commissioner.

Mr. Brown replied, that to settle the matter, he would withdraw the habeas corpus.

Judge Grier said, that the prisoner had never been taken out of the hands of the Commissioner, his purpose in granting the writ of habeas corpus being merely for the purpose of examining its validity. He then endorsed the writ, remanding the prisoner to the custody of the Marshal, the habeas corpus having been withdrawn, and further proceedings waived under it.

Commissioner Ingraham then took his seat to hear the case.

Mr. Lee offered the proceedings had before Judge Heath, of Baltimore county, Md., which, after some conversation between counsel, was heard. They set forth that the alleged fugitive is the slave for life of complainant, having been born of a female slave, owned by him in the county of Baltimore, Md., while she was his slave. Several affidavits were read of persons residing in the vicinity of the complainant, who testify to the fact that the prisoner is the slave of the claimant.

The following persons were then called as witnesses to prove the identity of the slave, or the ownership of the master: Dr. Thomas C. Ristean, William Wollus and John W. Shankland.

David Paul Brown, who appeared for the slave, announced that his counsel had no evidence to offer in opposition, and that they were satisfied, *though not content*, to let the law take its course.

The claimant then made the necessary affidavit required by the Act of Congress, to put the fugitive into the hands of the U. S. Marshal, for the purpose of having him conveyed to Baltimore, Md. A warrant to remove the slave was made out by the Commissioner, and put into the possession of U. S. Marshal, A. E. Roberts, who started to Baltimore this afternoon, at 2 o'clock, with the slave in custody."

The success which crowned the efforts of the slaveholders in the three or four previous cases seems to have inspired them with fresh zeal, and the diabolical sport of man-hunting was commenced with unwonted ardor. Rumors were continually coming to our ears that Maryland slaveholders were prowling in our midst, and that our own slave-catchers, official and voluntary, were on the alert for their prey. Up to the 11th ult., however, no captures were made, nor were any overtly attempted so far as the public was advised. But on the morning of the day mentioned—Thursday the 11th of September—an occurrence took place of the most startling character, and one which will be long remembered in the annals of slave-catching. We allude of course to the "Christiana Tragedy," as it is called, the circumstances of which are yet fresh in the minds of us all. This is not the place to attempt anything like a detailed account of this sad affair, as the particulars have not been authentically elicited, and as the whole subject is soon to undergo a judicial investigation. In the meantime, however, it is necessary to the completeness of our narrative that we should state such leading facts in the case as have either been already established, or in regard to which there will probably be but little dispute. The following narrative is compiled principally from the columns of the Pennsylvania Freeman:



## THE CHRISTIANA TRAGEDY.

"Early on the morning of the 11th of September, a party of slave-hunters went into a neighborhood about two miles west of Christiana, near the eastern border of Lancaster County, in pursuit of fugitive slaves. The party consisted of Edward Gorsuch, his son Dickerson Gorsuch, his nephew Dr. Pearce, Nicholas Hutchins and two others, all from Baltimore Co., Md., and one Henry H. Kline, a notorious wretch from Philadelphia, who had been deputed by Commissioner Ingraham for this business. At about day-dawn they were discovered, lying in ambush near the house of one Wm. Parker, a colored man, by an inmate of the house who had started for his work. He fled back to the house pursued by the slave-hunters. A horn was blown from an upper window; two shots were fired, it is said, both by the assailants, one at the colored man who fled into the house, and the other at the inmates through the window. No one was wounded by either. A parley ensued. The slaveholder demanded his slaves, which he said were concealed in the house. Three colored men presented themselves successively at the window, and asked if they were the slaves claimed; Gorsuch said that neither of them was his slave. They told him they were the only colored men in the house, and warned him and his party to leave, as they were determined never to be taken alive as slaves. Soon the colored people from the neighborhood, alarmed by the horn, began to gather, armed with guns, axes, corn cutters or clubs. Mutual threatenings were uttered by the two parties. The slave hunters told the blacks that resistance would be useless, as they had a party of thirty men in the woods near by. The blacks warned them again to leave, as they would die before they would go into slavery.

From an hour to an hour and a half passed in these parleyings, angry conversations and threats, the blacks increasing by new arrivals, until they probably numbered from thirty to fifty: most of them armed in some way. About this time, Castner Hanaway, a white man, and a Friend, who resided in the neighborhood, rode up, and was soon followed by Elijah Lewis, another Friend, both gentlemen highly esteemed as worthy and peaceable citizens. As they came up, Kline, the deputy marshal, ordered them to aid him, as a United States Officer, to capture the fugitive slaves. They refused, of course—as would any man not utterly destitute of honor, humanity and moral principle—and warned the assailants that it was madness for them to attempt to capture fugitive slaves there, or even to remain, and begged them, if they wished to save their own lives, to leave the ground.

Kline replied, "Do you really think so?" "Yes," was the answer, "the sooner you leave the better, if you would prevent bloodshed." Kline then left the ground, retiring to a very safe distance into a corn-field, and toward the woods. The blacks were so exasperated by his threats, that, but for the interposition of the two white Friends, it is very doubtful whether he would have escaped without injury.

Messrs. Hanaway and Lewis both exerted their influence to dissuade the colored people from violence, and would probably have succeeded, had not their efforts been counteracted by the course of the assailing party. Finding they could do nothing further, both started to leave, after having again counselled the slaveholders to depart and the colored people to forbearance; but they had not proceeded far until they overheard the discharge of fire-arms, denoting as it afterwards proved the commencement of a general battle between the opposing parties.

Conflicting statements are current as to who fired first, and a question is raised on this point, which we do not presume to decide. It is asserted,

however, by respectable parties who appear to be well informed, that the first shot was fired from the ranks of the assailants, and the following particulars are given:

During the parley, one of the inmates of the house attempted to come out at the door. Gorsuch presented his revolver, ordering him back. The colored man replied, 'You had better go away, if you don't want to get hurt;' and at the same time pushed him aside and passed out. Maddened at this, and stimulated by the question of his nephew, whether he "would take such an insult from a d—d nigger," Gorsuch fired at the colored man, and was followed by his son and nephew, who both fired their revolvers. The fire was returned by the blacks, who made a rush upon them at the same time. Gorsuch and his son fell, the one dead, the other wounded. The rest of the party, after firing their revolvers, fled precipitately through the corn and to the woods, pursued by some of the blacks. One was wounded, the rest escaped unhurt. Kline, the Deputy Marshal, who had kept at a safe distance, of course came off unscathed. Several colored men were wounded, but none very severely. Some had their hats or their clothes perforated with bullets; others were slightly grazed; and others had flesh wounds.

The slave-hunters having all fled, several neighbors, mostly Friends and anti-slavery men, gathered to succor the wounded and take charge of the dead.

It is said that Parker himself protected the wounded man from his excited comrades, and brought water and a bed from his own house for the invalid, thus showing that he was as magnanimous to his fallen enemy, as he was brave in the defense of his own liberty.

The young man was then removed to a neighboring house, where the family received him with the tenderest kindness, and paid him every attention. His wounds were severe, but as it has proved, not mortal.

News of the occurrence was of course soon spread in every direction, and great excitement was the consequence. Judge Grier took an opportunity to announce it in open court, in the city of Philadelphia, and to denounce the resistance made by the party assailed, as *Treason*. A detachment of marines from the Navy Yard, and a large police force from the city and county were ordered to repair to the scene of the conflict, to insure the execution of the laws, and to arrest those who had made resistance to them. On Monday, the 15th, Marshal Roberts appeared on the ground, accompanied by Commissioner Ingraham, Mr. Jones, a special Commissioner of the United States from Washington, the U. S. District Attorney Ashmead, with forty-five U. S. Marines from the Navy Yard, and a posse of about forty of the city Marshal's police, together with a large body of special constables—men eager for such a man-hunt—from Columbia and Lancaster, and other places. This crowd divided into parties of from ten to twenty-five, and scoured the country in every direction, for miles around, ransacking houses, capturing colored people, and making arrests among the whites. The final result was that thirty persons colored and white, were arrested and committed to prison, charged with the crime of treason. The names of the colored persons are: Wm. Brown, Ezekiel Thompson, Daniel Caulsberry, Isaiah Clarkson, Benjamin Pindergrast, Elijah Clark, Henry Green, William Williams, John Holliday, William Brown, George Reed, Benjamin Johnson, John Jackson, Thomas Butler, Samuel Williams, Collister Wilson, Lewis Clarkson, Charles Hunter, Lewis Gales, George Williams, Nelson Carter, Alson Pernsley, George Wells,\* Jacob Woods, Henry Simms, John Morgan, Jacob Moore,

\* George Wells has been since discharged, there being no evidence before the Grand Jury on which to find a true bill against him.

The Grand Jury have since found a true bill against James Jackson, of Bart, a highly estimable man and member of the Society of Friends, but the writ for his arrest has not yet been executed.

The names of the white prisoners are : Elijah Lewis, Castner Hannaway, and Joseph Scarlet. Two other white men also, Joseph Moore and James Hood, were arrested and bound over to answer at court, the former for obstructing the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, the latter for mis-prison of treason."

The trial of these men, it is understood, will take place in the course of next month. By this time next year, the whole affair will have become matter of history; and we deem it best, until then, to defer any further notice of it, except to say, that out of this Christiana man-hunt have grown the two remaining cases which we have to relate, of trials under the Fugitive Slave Law, coming within the scope of our own observation. The first of these was

#### THE CASE OF ABRAHAM HALL.

The following editorial article taken from the Pennsylvania Freeman of September 25th, gives the particulars of this case :

"When we saw the horde that, in the name of law, were the other day poured upon Lancaster county; and witnessed the ferocity with which they pursued and indiscriminately seized colored men, whether implicated or not in the Gorsuch affray, we felt assured that one prominent motive of that search with many engaged in it, was the capture of fugitive slaves; and the result is already sadly confirming that conviction. Thus soon are those hunters of men realising the hopes and designs of that foray.

Last week, a young man, named Abraham Hall, who had been seized near Christiana, was brought to this city by the slavecatcher Kline, as a fugitive slave, and on Wednesday afternoon, he was arraigned before the notorious Ingraham. Hall, when captured, had been hurried off to Christiana, where, terrified by the threats he heard, and the demonstrations of military and police force, he acknowledged himself a slave, and professed his willingness to go back, professing that his reason for leaving his master, which he did four or five years ago, was that he feared punishment for hurting a child, and that he had made two attempts to go back to his master, but had been prevented by persons living in the vicinity where he resided.

An attempt was made by Messrs. W. S. Peirce and D. P. Brown, who appeared in behalf of the prisoner, to bring the case before a judge on a writ of *habeas corpus*, and test the legality of the claimant's power of attorney, which was believed to be illegal in form, but which was, of course, held valid by the ten dollar Commissioner; but the poor colored man, in his terror, feared to consent to any proceedings in his own behalf, and he was given up and carried off to slavery, the man-hunter getting his prey, and the Commissioner his bribe.

One aggravating feature in the case, if anything can aggravate what is so inherently cruel, is the fact that Hall was about to be married. The slave-hunter's lawyer in the case was Robert M. Lee, whose fitness for the infamous business had been fully proved before; and the witnesses who appeared to swear away the liberty of an innocent man, were John Perdu and John Hutchins, both of whom were concerned in reducing Hannah Dillum, with her son and her unborn child, to slavery. To the credit of the Phila-

delphia bar, we may say, that whatever else may be charged against its members, we believe not a man of any character among them would engage in the despicable service of slave-hunter's counsel.

The *Pennsylvanian*, and kindred panderers to slavery, affect great delight to find a fugitive slave willing to return into slavery, quite forgetful of the recent practical lesson given them upon that subject, by Daniel Davis of Buffalo. It is to them the drowning man's straw, to save their sinking cause in the judgment and conscience of the world. But they certainly presume very largely upon the gullibility of the people, if they dream that such a fact will be accepted as evidence, in the face of the Fugitive Law and its bloody operations, that slavery is not a system of loathsome abominations, or that its victims do not dread it."

#### CASE OF CASSANDRA HARRIS.

The same number of the *Freeman* that contains the above, has the following notice of another, which is the last case, the particulars of which we shall have occasion to give:

"Another fugitive case came up before Ingraham on Tuesday afternoon, the prisoner having also been captured in the late ravage of the Christiana neighborhood. In this case the victim was an old woman—a grandmother—somewhere between sixty and seventy years of age, who is claimed as property by a Maryland slaveholder, named Davis. When arrested, it is said the brutes into whose hands she fell threatened her and her daughters with the gallows, though we do not learn that it was pretended that she was connected with the 'Gap-hill battle,' and her daughters had already been cleared of that suspicion. Under these menaces she confessed herself a slave: though now she says that she was turned out of the house, and sent away by her master, after her children had fled, he telling her never to come back until she brought them back with her. This, of course, makes her legally free; but the force of such a fact upon the mind of a slave-catching Commissioner, under his ten dollar bribe, may be inferred, from such decisions as those upon Adam Gibson and Daniel Davis.

The case was postponed until Wednesday, and then again till Thursday afternoon, probably because the claimants care little for the old woman, save as a means for securing her children whom they have not yet captured."

These children it is well understood are the wives of Parker and Pinckney, the two leaders in the Christiana affair, who escaped immediately after the occurrence.

The trial came on at the time appointed, Thursday the 25th; and the following is the report made of it in the Public Ledger. It will be seen the slavecatchers have found a new attorney, a man by the name of CHARLES J. BIDDLE:

"The case of old Cassy, noticed yesterday, whose proper name is Cassandra Harris, and who is claimed as a slave of Mr. Albert Davis, of Hartford County, Maryland, was again heard before Commissioner Ingraham, last evening. Mr. John J. Jay, a neighbor and cousin of the claimant, was examined as a witness, and testified that he knew the alleged slave very well; that he could not be mistaken respecting her, that he knew when she ran away, in 1843; that he had conversed with her since her arrest; that she spoke to him of her daughter and Mr. Davis' family, and that he had

known her as the slave for life of Mr. Davis' father, since whose death she remained in the claimant's family until she ran away.

There was no other evidence of ownership than this presented, and the counsel for the defence urged that no title had been proved, unless indeed the title of the claimant's deceased father could be deemed as proven, and he moved that the prisoner be discharged. The motion was overruled, the Commissioner deciding that a *prima facie* case of ownership had been made out, supported by open and notorious possession for a number of years, which he deemed sufficient. The counsel for the prisoner then called Mr. Septimus Davis, a brother of the claimant, who proved that his father made a will, of which he was the executor. A question was asked concerning the disposition made of the elder Mr. Davis' property by his will, which was objected to and overruled, when the counsel for the defence asked a postponement, in order that the will might be produced, as he said he thought he could show that the prisoner had been, or was to be manumitted, in pursuance of the will of the elder Mr. Davis. The motion was objected to and overruled. The counsel for the defence then offered to examine the claimant who was present, but this was likewise objected to and overruled. The testimony closed here, and the case was submitted to the Commissioner, who ordered Cassy into the custody of her claimant Mr. Davis. Charles J. Biddle, Esq., appeared for the claimant, and William S. Peirce Esq., for the defendant."

We have thus given an account of the cases, eight in number, which have come under the immediate observance of your Committee; others have occurred in different parts of the State, the circumstances of which are not personally known to us, and in regard to which the only record we have to make is the fact of their having happened. Of these, one occurred at Pittsburg, another at Brownsville in which two persons were delivered up, another at Wilkesbarre, and the remainder at Harrisburg. An account of those at Harrisburg is contained in the following letter from Judge McKinney of that place.

"Harrisburg, Aug. 29th, 1821.

DEAR SIR,—There have been eleven persons, as certainly known, delivered as slaves under the late Act of Congress, from this (Dauphin) county and Lebanon county, viz.

George Brooks and Samuel. Wilson, claimed by William Taylor of Virginia; taken in this county and finally delivered up by Commissioner McAllister.

Henry Lee and Basil Lee, claimed by Charles Wood of Carrol Co., Md. Wesley France, claimed by Richard Mercer, of the same place; and Benjamin Dorsey, claimed by Albert G. Warfield, also of the same place. These four last mentioned were taken from Lebanon county, without legal process, though under color of McAllister's warrant against other parties.

There were five other persons taken and delivered up from this county on proceedings before R. McAllister, Esq, of whose cases I know; and there may have been others, in the secrecy and despatch with which such cases are conducted before him. I cannot give their names, being unwilling to speak to him on the subject.

It is well to expose the proceedings had under this act, the continued

enormities of which must have the effect of exciting abhorrence and opposition. I will always be glad to aid in the good cause to the extent of my abilities.

With respect, your friend,

M. McKINNEY.

Mr. J. M. McKim.

Since transcribing the above letter, the papers have brought us intelligence of further outrages committed at Harrisburg in the name of this law. The facts are thus stated in the *Pennsylvania Freeman* of the 2d inst. :

#### ANOTHER ATROCIOUS OUTRAGE.

Four colored men, named John Stoucher, John Bell, Edward Michael and Finton Mercer, were arrested at Fisherville, in the upper part of Dauphin county, upon the oath of Michael Lentz, falsely charging them with being concerned in the Christiana affray, and were brought bound to Harrisburg and thrown into prison. A writ of *Habeas Corpus* was sued out to bring them before Judge Pearson on Friday. McAllister appeared and begged for a postponement till the next day, evidently to give time for claimants to come on from Maryland to take the men as slaves. The postponement was unfortunately granted, and the result is thus related by the telegraph, and of course as favorably reported for the slave-hunter as possible.

HARRISBURG, Sept. 27th.—The four negroes, J. Stoucher, J. Bell, Edward Michael and Finton Mercer, who were charged on the oath of Mr. Michael Lentz, with being participants in the fugitive slave riot at Christiana, were to-day brought before Judge Pearson on a writ of *habeas corpus*.

The Judge decided that the magistrate who committed the defendants was guilty of a gross dereliction of duty in issuing the commitment without evidence, and therefore discharged the prisoners.

Mr. McAllister, the U. S. Commissioner, and James Fox, the District Attorney, admitted the illegality of the commitment.

Immediately after the discharge of the prisoners, Commissioner McAllister pointed to them, and declared them in charge of his officers as fugitive slaves. The U. S. officers hand-cuffed them in open Court, and conveyed them to the Commissioner's office, where an examination was held with closed doors, and they were handed over to their claimants.

Several reputable citizens who were present during the proceedings, declared in open Court that the manacling of the prisoners under the circumstances was an outrage, and Judge Pearson expressed his willingness to arrest the U. S. officers for contempt of Court.

It appears that the charge connecting the prisoners with the Christiana outrage was a mere pretext to get them committed to the county jail, in order to obtain time to telegraph to their alleged owners.

Throughout, a very deep feeling was engendered, but no violation of law occurred.

Such are some of the atrocities perpetrated in the name of the law, in the capital of our State and in the very temples of justice. On a perjured oath, and a fictitious charge of murder and treason, peaceable and industrious men are seized and imprisoned in our state jails, to be kept until slave claimants are summoned from Maryland; and when they are discharged from their false imprisonment by a State Court, they are seized and hand-cuffed in the court-room and before the face of the Judge, dragged before the Star Chamber Commissioner,—who himself was a party in the fraudulent arrest—tried with closed doors, and sent off into hopeless slavery. Can the people of

Pennsylvania witness all this in silence and unconcerned? Then is all manhood and all sense of honor or shame dead, within us. Then we are already fitted to be slaves, and it only needs the tyrant to come with his chains and his scourge, for us to submit unresistingly our own limbs to the fetters, and our backs to the lash. Can it be that the people of Pennsylvania, while such frauds and robber outrages are committed in their very capital, while their courts of justice are thus defiled, will bend anew to slave-holding insolence and dictation; that they will tear down the legal defenses they have reared around the liberties and rights of the weak, and convert their prisons into slave-pens and barracoons for the use of the Southern negro hunters? We cannot believe it.

The whole number of fugitives delivered up under the law, so far as known to us, including the four mentioned by Judge McKinney's taken under the color of McAllister's warrant, is TWENTY-SIX. Of these, six were taken from Philadelphia, eleven from Harrisburg, and all, except four, from those parts of the State lying east of the mountains.

#### KIDNAPPING UNDER THE LAW.

In how many cases captures have been made without legal process, and innocent persons kidnapped and carried off to slavery by the original expedients of the coast of Africa, we are not able to tell; but we have reason to believe, from instances known to the public, that their number is not small. The following facts and statements, copied from various newspapers, will furnish a clue to the extent to which the business of kidnapping has been carried, under the cover of this atrocious Statute. The following is from the Pennsylvania Freeman of November 28th, 1850:

"KIDNAPPING CASE IN CARLISLE.—An esteemed correspondent gives us a detailed account of an attempt to kidnap a respectable free colored man in Carlisle, which has recently caused some excitement in that place, but we have only room for the bare facts. The attempt was made by Thomas Finnegan, a notorious Maryland kidnapper who was some years since sentenced to the penitentiary of this State for kidnapping a colored woman and her children, and was pardoned by Governor Shunk. At the instance of this Finnegan, and one Edward L. Faut of Fauquier Co., Va., a warrant was issued by the U. S. Commissioner for the arrest of Rev. Moses Jones, a well known colored preacher, as a slave. The plan of the kidnappers was to waylay and seize Jones on his return from a neighboring town, but missing him, they left for Harrisburg.

On his return, Jones, with the advice of his friends and counsel, went to the Commissioner and surrendered himself for trial, fully confident that he could prove his freedom. The kidnappers were telegraphed of his arrest, and answered that they would return without delay, but Finnegan's memories probably suggested caution, and they did not come. After holding Mr. Jones until next day, the Commissioner discharged him, finding that he did not answer in any particular to the description of the alleged fugitive.

It was doubtless the design of the kidnappers to seize and drag him off without any trial, as had been done recently with the four colored men in Harrisburg. The scheme was a bold one, and seems to have failed only by a fortunate accident.

The Public Ledger of January 18th, contained the following letter, the writer of which is well known to us an Elder and respectable member of the Society of Friends:

#### KIDNAPPING IN LANCASTER COUNTY.

*"Sadsbury Township, 1st mo. 16th, 1851.*

*Messrs. Editors.*—An outrage occurred in this neighborhood this week, which was so shocking that the public should be made acquainted with it. On Second day evening between 7 and 8 o'clock, some one knocked at the door of the house of Marsh Chamberlain, a neighbor of mine, and the answer was given, 'come in.' At once about six persons entered, and made their way instantly toward a colored man who was sitting by the fire, and who was about putting on his shoes.

Seeing their purpose, he seized a pair of tongs to defend himself, but before he could use them he was knocked down and severely beaten. He was then dragged to the door, the individuals in the mean time beating him most cruelly. He was then gagged to quiet his cries, tied and dragged like a slain beast to a wagon, which was about one hundred yards off, in readiness to receive him, and from thence he was driven off, as it was afterwards ascertained, instantly to the Maryland line, where he was handed over to other parties. The ground over which the man was dragged was deeply marked by his blood.

There was in Marsh Chamberlain's house, at the time the affair occurred, Thomas Pennington, an elderly man, down stairs, and a woman up stairs. As soon as the colored man was knocked down—whether intentionally, or not—the light was put out, and what followed was done in comparative darkness. The alarm was given as soon as possible, and a band of colored people, armed with double-barrelled guns, were soon on the ground: but they were a few minutes too late, else a scene of slaughter would probably have ensued, more easily imagined than described. They pursued the kidnappers, but did not get on the right track.

It ought to be stated that this band of persons had no warrant nor any legal process, nor were they accompanied by any officer. They came from the 'Gap Tavern,' a notorious place in the neighborhood. They were joined by others outside of the house, when they brought the man out. Altogether there were not less than ten or twelve in number. The name of the victim, was, I believe, John Williams. I have always regarded him as a free man, and he has been so regarded in the neighborhood, and there is no proof now that he was not.

A month ago, a man was carried off from this neighborhood in a way somewhat similar, and last week an attempt was made in this township, near the house of Dr. Duffield, but fortunately, was unsuccessful. The intended victim was attacked while he was at work in a barn, but defended himself with a pitchfork, and drove off his pursuers.

Respectfully, yours, J. W."

Several of the supposed perpetrators of the outrage here related, were arrested at the instance of some of the Friends in the neigh-



borhood, but from the little hope that was entertained of getting evidence sufficient to convict them, the prosecution was abandoned.

In the month of March, a member of our Committee received from Thomas Garrett, of Wilmington, the following letter, giving an account of a flagrant case of kidnapping which had just occurred in that place.

"Wilmington, 3rd mo., 17th, 1851.

*Esteemed Friend*:—On Third-day night last, a free colored man named William Brown, was kidnapped on the outskirts of our city, at the house of Elijah Loper. The facts of the case, as proved by the witnesses examined before our Mayor, Joshua E. Driver, this day, exhibit one of the boldest acts of kidnapping on record. Three witnesses swore that there were seven persons (including Elijah Loper and his wife,) at the house, on the night of the 11th instant. About 11 o'clock, a man named Andy Dever, who had lately been one of the city watch here, opened the door and walked in; soon after three of the men, including Loper, ran out at the door, leaving one man and three women in the house. Dever went up to Brown who was asleep at the time, and roused him, and told him he was the person he wanted; he 'must take him to the town hall, for devilment he had committed at a colored man's house named Bordley.' He then in the presence of those left in the house, hand-cuffed him and took him off; they thinking he was still watchman, did not let it be known till next evening. Dever was not seen in town from that night till 6th day night, or 7th day morning. On 7th day evening he was arrested, and this day had a hearing before our Mayor, who bound him over to appear at our next court, to be held in the Fifth month, at New Castle.

Three of the witnesses testified that they had known Dever for several years, and they could not be mistaken; he was the man who hand-cuffed Brown and took him off.

This same Dever took up Brown a few months since, swore that he was a runaway slave, and had him put in New Castle jail; while in jail, we proved from the man he served his time with, near Dover, that he was free born. Dever was discharged by our Mayor from watchman of the city, on account of his leaving his beat, for whole nights, hunting up runaway slaves, and most likely kidnapping freemen.

Brown is no doubt at this time in the hands of the slave-dealers, but we are not without hopes that we shall be able to find him and get him back in time to have his evidence at the May court. There are now two or three other white men in this place, who are engaged in the same business, and who will be hereafter closely watched.

Brown is about 26 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 10 inches high, pretty thick set, dark chesnut color, flat nose, and stutters when spoken to. Please take such notice of the above, in the *Freeman*, as you may think proper for the interest of the cause, and oblige

THOMAS GARRETT."

The same day on which the above came to hand, the following letter appeared in the Public Ledger. Its contents were fully confirmed by a private letter received at the same time from a well

known and highly respectable gentleman living in the same neighborhood:

*"West Caln Township, Chester co., March 16.*

*Messrs. Editors.*—A case of kidnapping occurred in our vicinity this morning (Sunday,) March 16th., about 1 A. M., which has caused considerable alarm in our neighborhood.

A black man, by the name of Thomas Hall, an honest, sober and industrious man, living in the midst of a settlement of farmers, has been stolen by persons who knocked at his door and told him that his nearest neighbor wanted him to come to his house, one of his children being sick. Hall not immediately opening the door, it was burst in, and three men rushed into his house. Hall was felled by the bludgeons of the men. His wife received several severe blows, and on making for the door was told that if she attempted to go out or halloo, she would have her brains blown out. She, however, escaped through a back window and gave the alarm—but before any person arrived upon the ground, they had fled with their victim. A six-barrelled revolver, heavily loaded, was dropped in the scuffle and left, also a silk handkerchief and some old advertisements of a bear beat, that was to take place at Emmetsburg, Maryland. We have not been able to discover their course as yet, nor do we know whether they acted under legal authority or not—but have strong reason to believe they did not."

The Pennsylvania Freeman of the 13th of March, thus notices a bold attempt to abduct a free colored man from Kennett Square:

*"ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING AT KENNETT.*—A friend from Kennett informs us of a bold attempt to kidnap a free colored man in the employ of John Cox, on the morning of the —inst. Early in the morning four men in a carriage drove by, and seeing a young colored man upon a haystack near the road, feeding cattle, they called to him to inquire whether his employer had hay to sell, and its price, &c., and requested him to come down, to call his employer; but no sooner had the young man descended, than they attempted to seize him. He defended himself with the pitchfork, and dealt his blows so rapidly and dangerously that they left him, and before any alarm could be given and pursuit made, they were far on their way to Wilmington. Who the robbers were that attempted thus boldly to kidnap a freeman from the heart of an anti-slavery neighborhood, was not ascertained: In this revival of man-stealing under the favoring law of Congress, it becomes all the friends of justice and freedom to be vigilant and united."

#### KIDNAPPING IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Another case occurred the same month in the western part of the State, an account of which is contained in the following letter published in the Anti-Slavery Bugle:

*"West Pike Run, Washington Co., Pa., 4th mo. 3d, 1851.*

*Friend Johnson.*—An attempt was made on the 20th, to arrest a black man in this vicinity, which failed, and nine of the kidnappers were arrested. Six gave bail for their appearance at next court, two were let go, and Geo. W. Stamp, the pretended deputy Marshal, was sent to jail. One other, calling

himself Fleming, is not yet taken. This man shot twice at their intended victim, it is said. The same gang also failed in two like attempts at West Newton.

These things have greatly tended to awaken the dormant sympathies of the people for the oppressed and trodden down fugitives, who are flying for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, beyond the reach of Fillmore's puny arm.

DAVID GRIFFITH.

The *Pittsburg Gazette*, of June 13th, gives an account of a case of kidnapping, the particulars of which are as follows :

"The victim was a free colored man, named Chas. Wedley, who was born and had always lived in Pittsburg. He resided on Arthur street, and was well known to many prominent citizens of the city : and was apparently as safe as any colored man there.

Wedley, says the *Gazette*, wishing to visit the eastern cities, but not having the means, was about to become a deck-hand on board a river steamer to earn funds, when a white man named Speer and a colored man named Lindsey Lewis, who said they had plenty of money, offered to take him, east, free of expense. He accepted their invitation.

The three set out on foot, and when they reached Licking Creek, in Bedford County, a gang of ruffians rushed upon Wedley, and declared that they knew him well—that he was a slave, and had escaped from Wheeling. It is needless to say that this was a falsehood, poor Wedley having been born in this city, where he has ever since resided ; but despite his resistance and prayers, he was ironed, and hurried over the Maryland line. Lewis and Speer returned to Pittsburg without going to Philadelphia, as they now allege, for Wedley's free papers, but an aunt of the latter, asking Lewis after his arrival where her nephew was, he said he had remained in Philadelphia.

In the mean time, Wedley, closely guarded and heavily ironed, was taken into the interior of Maryland, where he was offered for sale to a man who fortunately was acquainted with a number of persons in Pittsburg. He entered into conversation with the alleged slave, and found him so intelligent that he declared he would not purchase him at any price, because ' he knew too much, and would not only run off himself, but cause his other slaves to escape likewise.'

After a long conversation, in which Wedley described the street in which he resided ; gave an account of the city ; told the names of the principal inhabitants, and their business, together with the names of all the Mayors for some years back, the gentleman became convinced that he was a freeman. He was, however, taken away and chained to a bed-post, where he remained for twenty-four hours, but was finally released by the gentleman who had interrogated him so closely, who likewise pointed out the road which he must pursue, in order to escape from his kidnappers. He had been three days in irons.

This gentleman deserves the highest credit for his kindness, since otherwise poor Wedley might have been doomed to drag out a life of hopeless servitude ; and we only regret that we are unable to find out his name. Towards the close of last week, Wedley arrived in Pittsburg, safe and sound, after an absence of two weeks, and we trust that the rascals who kidnapped him, whoever they may be, may receive that punishment which they so well deserve.

This atrocity demands a word of comment. The reader will remark that it was by the merest accident this villainy was detected, and that even then it was only by secret flight that the man escaped from his kidnappers, after having suffered the tortures of slavery in body and mind for three days."

The foregoing statements have all been published to the world, and, so far as we know, their truth has never been gainsayed. Other cases of like character and equally credible have been brought to our ears, but as they have not received the same public authentication, we forbear to mention them: Enough has been said, however, to illustrate the atrocious character of the Fugitive Slave Law, both in its direct and indirect operation, and to exhibit the horrible state of things which it has engendered within the bounds of this Commonwealth. Pennsylvania has been converted into a second Guinea coast, and the horror and anguish which for the past year has pervaded our unhappy colored inhabitants can only find a parallel in what is witnessed on the shores of that wretched country. The same diabolical arts which for centuries have been employed in Africa to kidnap and carry away men, women and children into slavery, have been to some extent reproduced here, both with law and without law, and for the same iniquitous purpose. To what further extent these outrages shall be carried before producing a reaction sufficient to arrest them, it is impossible to say. Certainly no hope of their cessation can be entertained as long as the infamous law exists from which they have had their origin. The impunity with which they can be perpetrated affords the strongest encouragement to their repetition. In one instance, and but one, has the perpetration of this crime met with the punishment which it merits and which is prescribed by the law. That was in the case of Alberti and Price, the trial of which excited a deep interest at the time, and which is still the occasion of some discussion. The following report of it appears in the Pennsylvania Freeman of the 6th of March:

#### KIDNAPPING CASE—CONVICTION OF ALBERTI AND PRICE.

"On Friday last, George F. Alberti and James Frisbee Price, were arraigned before Judge Parsons of the Court of Common Pleas, and put on trial upon a charge of kidnapping Joel Henry Thompson, a colored boy, last Summer, and taking him to Maryland, where he was sold into slavery. We have before stated the facts of the crime, which are, briefly as follows:—

About the middle of August last, Price, who had ingratiated himself into the confidence of the parents of the child, Wm. and Catharine Thompson, then residing in Burlington County, N. J., induced the mother to leave home with her infant, then about eighteen months old, and come to this city, under the pretense that his wife wanted to see the child. The woman and child were seen at the house of Price in Vernon street, upon several occa-

sions. Here the woman was taken and confined in an upper room of Alberti's house. Thomas Richardson was employed to take the party to Elkton, Maryland, under the pretense that she was a fugitive from justice from that State, having been charged with larceny and demanded by the Governor of Maryland. To give the affair the appearance of a legal proceeding, Alderman Allen was present at the time Richardson went to take her.

This Richardson was introduced as a witness for the prosecution. He stated, in addition to the facts above, that on going to the house of Alberti, he informed the witness that he had quieted the woman by striking her with a mace, which he exhibited. The witness subsequently saw the mark of the blow upon the face of the woman. At Sixth and Washington streets the woman and child were put into the carriage, and Alberti got in also, taking manacles with him, and threatening to put them on the woman if she resisted him.

Starting on the journey in open day at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, they proceeded to Elkton, stopping at Marcus Hook and Hare's Corner. On reaching Elkton, Alberti procured a light conveyance, drove some distance into the country, and returned with a man named Mitchell, who claimed the woman as his slave. After some conversation with her, he said he would send her to Georgia and keep the child with him. The first information Richardson had of the woman being a slave, was her own admission to him after they had got into the State of Delaware. He remonstrated with Alberti, who told him to drive on.

Richardson's testimony was objected to by the defendant's counsel, on the ground that he had been twice convicted in the Criminal Court, several years ago, of infamous crimes, and the records were produced to show that fact. The Commonwealth answered the objection by exhibiting two pardons, the effect of which restored his right as a citizen, and made him a competent witness in the case.

His statements were moreover strongly corroborated by persons residing here, and at the intermediate points of the journey from this city to Elkton. It was also proved that Alberti, subsequently to the transaction, said that he was to receive for his services one half of the proceeds of the sale of both mother and child, and that Price was to have \$75 for bringing them to Alberti.

Geo. T. Price, a cousin of Frisbee Price, and his bail, was proved to have been at the house of Alberti previous to the removal of the woman, and represented himself as an abolitionist—recommending her to submit to the proceedings as the better way to extricate herself from the difficulties.

The husband, after waiting several days in anxious expectation for the return of his wife, came to this city in search of her, and was overwhelmed with the discovery, that he had been robbed by the land-pirates of both wife and babe.

From the time his wife and child left his house in August, he has never either of them, and there seems to be little if any probability that his crushed heart will ever be healed by the restoration of the objects of his love.

Upon the information given by the husband, an investigation was commenced, which resulted in proving the crime upon the defendants.

The prosecution was conducted by Messrs. D. P. Brown, Webster, Sergeant and Peirce.

Mr. Brown's plea is spoken of by those who heard it, as one of great power and eloquence.

The counsel for the defense, were Mr. Lehman—the counsel for Alberti,

in the case of Adam Gibson, who entreated Commissioner Ingraham to give up Gibson, in the face of the proof of his freedom, and 'vindicate the law and save the Union'—Mr. H. Hubble and Mr. Lee; counsel worthy of their clients.

The ground of the defense was, that Alberti was acting for Mitchell as his agent under a power of attorney, to remove the woman as Mitchell's slave, and that he could not separate her and the child, in consequence of her refusal, and from motives of humanity.

It was an act of *humanity* which robbed the father of his infant babe, and tore it from the mother's tender care, and reduced both mother and child to life-long slavery; and we must regard those invaders of the sanctity of a peaceful home, those lawless kidnapers, as tender hearted philanthropists, who could not bear to see the separation of a mother and child! Skeptics may ask why their humanity did not prompt them to leave the family united and happy as they found them? But that would have been a less profitable humanity; a consideration quite intelligible to both client and counsel, whose ideas of mercy and justice must, we suspect, bear a striking resemblance.

The counsel for the kidnapers were of course eloquent in their devotion to the 'Union' and the 'Compromises,' all of which, we might infer from their speeches, would be shattered to fragments, if colored children could not be stolen with impunity whenever any kidnapper chose to lay his hands on them. This we suppose is another "peace measure," which must be conceded to the South, to 'preserve the Union,' and 'avoid agitation.'

To prejudice and blind the jury to the real issue, the counsel cunningly intermixed their eulogies of the 'humanity' of their clients with the baldest misrepresentations of the abolitionists, and calumnies upon the people of color. But their labor was for naught, save as a bait for future custom of a similar character.

On Friday evening, Judge Parsons charged the Jury at much length, explaining the provisions of the anti-kidnapping law of the State, recapitulating the facts of the evidence and reviewing the Fugitive Slave Act, which had been incidentally introduced into the arguments on the case. He expressed his opinion explicitly, that that law is unconstitutional in investing the Commissioners with judicial power.

The case having been submitted to the Jury, they retired, and after a few moment's deliberation, returned with a verdict of *Guilty*, as to both defendants upon all the counts of the bill of indictment.

Mitchell was also charged in the bill, but of course, as he was absent from the city, was not on trial.

A requisition has been made for him by Governor Johnston upon the Governor of Maryland.

The sentence of Alberti and Price was deferred until their trial upon the charge of kidnapping *Adam Gibson*, which comes on this week, and they were removed to prison."

On Saturday, the 22d of March, about four P. M., the prisoners were brought before the Court to receive their sentence. The following account of the proceeding, with slight correction, is taken from the Daily News:

"The announcement having been made in the daily papers of Saturday last that the kidnapers, Alberti and Price, were to be brought up for sen-

tence and on that day, a large number of citizens assembled in the court-house of the Quarter Sessions to see the prisoners, and to hear their doom pronounced. A few minutes after ten o'clock they were ushered into the court-room, and placed in the dock. As a matter of course, Alberti and his tool, Price, were the observed of all observers, but upon no countenance of the multitude present was the least expression of sympathy for the reckless and hardened offenders. Indeed, so far as we were able to judge, all appeared to feel gratified at the thought that justice had at last overtaken them. Immediately after the opening of the Court the case was called up, and the prisoners were asked if they had any thing to say in mitigation of punishment. Alberti pointed to his counsel, Wm. E. Lehman, Jr., who replied that he could only ask the Court to be merciful to his client, who is an old man, and who could not be expected to live much longer in the natural course of things than the period fixed by law as the minimum punishment for the offence. He asked that Alberti might be allowed to spend the close of his life in the bosom of his family. The court was fully acquainted with the facts of the case, and he would say nothing further.

The prisoners were then directed to stand up, when Judge Parsons addressed them as follows: You George F. Alberti and J. Frisby Price, have been convicted of the crime of kidnapping—an offence made highly penal under the act of Assembly of 1849. If there is any crime in the black catalogue that deserves to rank second to murder, it is this; and while the people of this city and State, and I trust the country at large, will always respect the rights of the South in their property in slaves, we are bound to respect the rights of our free colored population, and to protect them in their freedom. I can imagine nothing more revolting to the feelings of humanity than to steal human beings and sell them into bondage. Look at the present case—here was a woman, who whether a slave or not it does not matter—though I will say that she was taken away without any color of authority, and if you had been upon trial for that offence I should have felt bound under the testimony to have charged the jury to convict—who was decoyed from her home, and her infant, born free, carried into another State, and there sold into bondage. It was an offence which admits of no excuse, and at which humanity shudders. As for you, Price, I believe you were the tool of Alberti. He used you to accomplish what he could not effect himself. You decoyed her from her home, and took her to the house of Alberti. While both of you are in your lonely cells, I would have you reflect upon the condition of the poor child now groaning under the galling chains of slavery, placed upon it by your hands—think of the offence you have committed against God and man, and remember that you will appear before a higher tribunal to answer. For the offence of which you have been convicted, George F. Alberti, the sentence is: that you pay a fine of \$1,000, and undergo an imprisonment of ten years in the Eastern Penitentiary. The sentence of you J. Frisby Price is that you pay a fine of \$700, and undergo an imprisonment of eight years in the Eastern Penitentiary.

At the announcement of this sentence there were murmurs of applause from the colored side of the house which the officers promptly checked. Neither Alberti or Price seemed to be moved at the remarks of the Court or the extent of the punishment.

As has been intimated, a requisition was issued by Governor Johnston for the delivery of Mitchell. With this requisition the Governor of Maryland refused to comply. The reasons for the refusal, as furnished by the Attorney General of that State, together with the correspondence of the two Governors

will be found in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, of the 8th of May, copied from the Washington Union. To these documents all persons are referred who wish to inform themselves more particularly on this subject.

We may add that the Maryland Constitutional Convention approved the Governor's course, and appropriated money to prosecute the case before the Supreme Court of the United States.

#### BILL TO REPEAL THE LAW OF 1847.

We turn now to the other important feature in our contest alluded to, viz: the attempt made at the last session of the Legislature to repeal the Act of Assembly, commonly known as the Anti-Kidnapping Law of 1847. A determined rally for this purpose was made in Philadelphia, early in the session, by certain jobbers in politics and dealers in dry goods, dependent on the South for custom. In this movement the "Pennsylvanian," the newspaper organ of Mr. Buchanan, took the lead, though the "Daily News," the mouth-piece of Senator Cooper, and the organ of the administration portion of the whig party, essayed to cope with it in its zeal. The other city papers either acquiesced in the project or forbore to oppose it. The "Pennsylvanian" and "News," however, were clamorous in their demands for repeal, addressing themselves for the accomplishment of their purpose to the most sordid interests and lowest prejudices of the people. They were seconded in their efforts by politicians of the same stamp in other parts of the State.

Soon after the session opened, a bill was introduced for the repeal of the 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th sections of the act of 1847;—in other words, for the repeal of all those parts which are of an anti-slavery character, or which give the act any value or efficiency.

In the House there was a majority in favor of the bill, but in the Senate it met with warm opposition. For a long time the probabilities were that it would be here defeated, but by modifying it so as to make it applicable only to the 6th section of the act, which forbid our prisons to be used for the benefit of the slave-catchers, a vote was procured, which lacked but two of being a majority. The Democratic members voted in a body for the measure; those who were opposed to it were Whigs. To induce



enough of the latter to yield so as to secure its passage, various measures were resorted to, and among them, that of a public Whig demonstration in the city of Philadelphia. Accordingly, a meeting was called, an account of which is preserved in the following extract from the Pennsylvania Freeman, of March 6th :

"A Meeting of the 'Whigs of Philadelphia' was held at the Chinese Museum, on Thursday evening the 27th inst., to 'express their approval of the compromise measures of the last Congress,' and promote the 'repeal of the obnoxious features' of the anti-kidnapping law of this State, passed unanimously by both houses of the Legislature in 1847. Resolutions were adopted *congratulating the country* on the passage of the '*Fugitive Slave Law*, and the kindred pro-slavery measures of the late Congress, and proscribing every representative and member of the Whig party who refuses to sustain them, and calling for the *immediate repeal* of the provisions of the State law of 1847, which forbids the use of the public prisons of this State, for the benefit of the slave-catchers. The Meeting declares :

'That acknowledging, as we do, the right of a citizen of another State to secure his property, which he may find within our borders, it becomes our duty to furnish him with such facilities as he may in such case require.'

The Chairman of the meeting declared, that 'the meeting was intended as an *ear-flapper*, to arouse their representatives at Harrisburg with reference to the necessity of repealing a law which countervailed the Supreme law of the land, engendered bad feeling between opposite sections of the Union, and tended to weaken the bonds of national sympathy and association.'

Most prominent among the speakers of the meeting, were Josiah Randall, Charles Gibbons, Isaac Hazlehurst, Craig Biddle and John C. Bullet."

This meeting was followed up in the Daily News, by fresh appeals to grovelling interest and vulgar prejudice to secure the passage of the bill. At last, on the 26th of March, it passed the Senate as modified, by a vote of 17 to 8, and was sent to the House, where, on the 13th of April, just on the eve of adjournment, it was adopted by a vote of 58 to 36. The yeas and nays were as follows:

#### IN THE SENATE.

YEAS—Messrs. Baily, Brooke, Crabb, Fernon, Forsyth, Frailey, Fulton, Guernsey, Hoge, Jones, Konigmacher, Muhlenberg, Myers, Packer, Sanderson, Shimer, Matthias, Speaker—17.

NAYS—Messrs. Carothers, Carson, Cunningham, Frick, Haslett, Malone, Savery, Walker—8.

#### IN THE HOUSE,

YEAS—Messrs. Armstrong, Benedict, Bigelow, Blair, Bonham, Brindle, Alex. E. Brown, Cassiday, Demers, Dobbins, Downer, Dunn, Ely, Evans, (Berks,) Feather, Figily, Frets, Gabe, Goodwin, Griffin, Guffey, Hague, Henry, Huplet, Jackson, Laughlin, Laury, Leet, Lilly, McCurdy, McKee, McRey-

nolds, Morris, Mowry, (Wyoming,) Olwine, O'Niel, Packer, Patten, Reckhow, Reifsnyder, Ray, Rhoads, Riddle, Roberts, Ross, Scofield, Scouller, Shull, Simpson, Skinner, Sowder, Steward, Thomas, Trone and Cessna, Speaker—54.

NAYS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bent, Bingham, Blaine, Bowen, Broomall, Brown, Cowden, Dungan, Evans, (Indiana,) Fiffe, Gibbs, Gossler, Hamilton, Hart, Hunsecker, Kunkel, Linton, Maclay, McCluskey, McCune, McKean, McLean, Mowry, (Somerset,) Nissley, Reid, Robertson, Shaeffer, Shugart, Slifer, Smith, Strothers, Van Horne, and Walker—34."

The bill was sent to the Governor, and in his pocket it has rested from that time to this. Whether he will sign it or not remains to be seen. For our own part, we are willing to leave the matter with him, confident that he has too much respect for himself, and too much regard for the interests and honor of the commonwealth, to compromise either by any gratuitous concessions to the demands of slavery. Gov. Johnston is no abolitionist, to his discredit be it said. On the contrary, by his political affiliations, he is placed in the ranks of our opponents; while by his oath of office, and his public voluntary reiterations, he stands pledged to support slavery to the extent to which it is sustained by the laws of the United States, and the compromises of the Constitution. But, while he goes thus far, to his credit be it said, he goes no farther. This, under ordinary circumstances, would be but faint praise; but in times like these, when a strict fulfilment of the federal guaranties, and a literal observance of the laws, is not demonstration enough of loyalty to the South, but when new and unstipulated concessions are demanded, and self-degrading works of supererogation are looked for from candidates for public favor, it is something that a man in Governor Johnston's position spurns the demand with the contempt it deserves, and turns his back upon those who would insult him with such degrading suggestions.

#### THE CHURCH—THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Leaving, therefore, the bill for the repeal of the law of 1847 where the Legislature has placed it, we pass on to the consideration of other subjects having claims upon our attention. The position of the Church towards the Anti-Slavery movement at its present crisis, has been sufficiently indicated by our remarks upon the means employed to justify and sustain the Fugitive Slave Law. The fact that this law has found some of its most zealous supporters among the clergy, and that these men do not

thereby impair their ecclesiastical standing, is a comment upon the recreancy of the body, which supersedes the necessity of further illustration. Honorable exceptions there are, of course, but not more than enough to prove the truth of the general rule. William H. Furness, Chauncey Webster, and such men, are not to be taken as specimens of the clerical character, as it is exhibited throughout the State of Pennsylvania, and the fact that these noble ministers encounter much opposition and even imperil their places by their fidelity, is proof that the laity of the church are marked by the same characteristics on this subject which distinguish the clergy.

The delinquency of the Society of Friends, though not so palpable to the superficial observer, is equally great and still more culpable. By their professions they are placed before the world as antagonists of slavery, and the expectation would be natural that at a juncture like this, when the advocates of that system are making the most superhuman efforts to sustain and perpetuate it, they would meet in the Society of Friends the most determined resistance. But the expectation, however natural, finds no realization in the fact. The Friends, it is admitted, are still true to their discipline in the exclusion of slaveholders from membership in their body. By their queries they maintain a formal and not entirely useless testimony against the evil of slavery, and their traditions and the prestige of their history are not without their influence in perpetuating an anti-slavery feeling, to some extent, among their individual members; which feeling exhibits itself in occasional spasmodic actions of the body. But with this exception the hostility of the Society of Friends to slavery is a thing of the past. They witness the aggressions of the evil on every hand with but feeble attempts to arrest them; they stand entirely aloof from the anti-slavery movement, and they are quoted with approbation, and their course hailed with delight, by the slaveholders and their acknowledged champions. If the Society of Friends were marked by the same characteristics which history ascribes to it in its earlier days, and if the men and women who now give it character and bear sway in its councils were animated by the spirit of their first predecessors, the Fugitive Slave Bill might not have become a law of the land, or if it had, it surely would not have found in Pennsylvania the chosen theatre for its operations.

• If any one supposes that we do the Society of Friends injustice by imposing upon them too large a share of responsibility for the present state of things, let him look at—in this connection—the two following facts :—First, that public sentiment in Eastern Pennsylvania is such as to make the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law here easier, and to tolerate more excesses and outrages under it than in any other State in the Union ; and second, that no class of persons exert so potent an influence, as a general thing, in the formation and modification of public sentiment in Eastern Pennsylvania as the Society of Friends. In all our institutions and usages, public and private, political and social, are seen proofs of their presence and signs of their influence. In our commercial corporations they exert a controlling power, and in all the legislative measures which are adopted or rejected, affecting the financial interests of the community, no class of persons exercises a greater influence. The architecture of our houses, the style of our dress, and even the very manner of keeping our day book and ledger accounts, show the all pervading influence of this ancient and respectable society upon the public sentiment of the community. Putting these two facts together, what is the inevitable inference, but that for the public sentiment which now tolerates the enormities of the Fugitive Slave Law in Eastern Pennsylvania, the Society of Friends are to be held in an eminent degree responsible. Where much is given, there much will be required.

#### OUR PROGRESS—GEORGE THOMPSON.

But notwithstanding all the opposition our cause has had to encounter, whether from the active hostility of open enemies, or the passive indifference of reputed friends, its advocates have pressed on without faltering or discouragement. The increased opposition from without has produced greater union and harmony within, and anti-slavery men of various, and even in some respects conflicting opinions, have been brought together by it upon a common platform. Though our own views have undergone no change, we have been spared the necessity of controversy with others who used to be our antagonists, but are now in important respects co-laborers. Besides, we have had the aid of many who make no professions of abolitionism, but who, from their feelings of sympathy produced by the outrages which have been so fre-

quent of late, and from a general good will to the cause, have been willing to contribute pecuniarily to the means which are employed to support it.

Our measures and mode of action have been the same as in former years, and in this respect we have nothing to note. The *Pennsylvania Freeman* continues, as before, to be our chief instrumentality. On the first of this year its size was enlarged, and though the price was raised fifty per cent. above its former amount, the circulation of the paper has suffered no appreciable decrease. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* circulates among us by the same arrangement as previously existed, and renders the usual valuable aid to the cause. In addition to this we have distributed tracts and other publications, maintained for some months a lecturer in the field, circulated anti-slavery petitions, and held our customary meetings and conventions.

One of the present circumstances in the history of the year, has been a visit to our State of that distinguished philanthropist and eloquent champion of liberty, George Thompson, Esq., member of the British Parliament. The stay of Mr. Thompson amongst us was brief, but was nevertheless a source of the liveliest gratification to the crowds of friends who flocked to see and hear him, and was a timely help to the cause. He held two public meetings while he was with us; one at West Chester, and the other at Norristown, both of which were attended by large and admiring audiences. His visit, altogether, left a most salutary impression, and was the means of giving an impulse to our movement in the cause, which has ever since been sensibly felt.

#### THE NEW DOCTRINE OF TREASON.

Since commencing this review of the past year, events have fallen out, which, though they have not altered the position of our cause, have changed materially some of its aspects. These events have been partially indicated in the narrative given of the sad scenes which occurred at Christiana; but others connected with and resulting from this tragedy, have since transpired, and are still transpiring, tending to show that the dark chapter in our history is not yet completed. The persecution of abolitionists has been revived under a new form, and now, instead of being held answerable to the mob we are made amenable to the law. Lynch committee having been found incompetent to put us down, or prevent us

from exercising our home-born rights of speech and the press, we are now to be handed over to the tribunals of the government, and the power of the State is invoked to crush us. Freedom of utterance when and where to declare the whole truth—if that were possible—against American slavery, is to be construed into treason, and combinations to bring to nought by moral and christian means, the most atrocious law that ever stained a Statute book, are to be treated as conspiracies against the existence of the Government. “To this complexion have we come at last.” That there is a conspiracy on foot, and one pregnant with danger to the country, we have no doubt, but it is a conspiracy not against but in behalf of the Government. Its object is to curtail the natural and constitutional rights of American citizens.

Some eighteen months ago, Daniel Webster speaking for himself and others, declared: “This *discussion* (of slavery) *whether in Congress or out of Congress, must be put down.*” In Congress, at the last session but one, by the adoption of the so-called Compromise Measures, it was put down—at least on paper. Out of Congress the attempt to suppress it has been attended with more difficulty. Efforts have been made to frown it down, to preach it down, and by the action of union and indignation meetings, to resolve it down, but, like Banquo’s ghost, it would not down at their bidding. On the contrary, the effect of all these expedients has been to give a fresh impulse to discussion, and to spread still wider the agitation. In this emergency it is determined to resort to a new and bolder measure, and accordingly resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law is declared to be *Treason*. This doctrine is first broached by Mr. Webster, and is afterwards unfolded and enforced by his political follower, B. R. Curtis, Esq., of Boston, who is duly rewarded by a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Government organ at Washington expresses its approval of the new view, with intimations that the necks of certain unsuspecting persons are not altogether safe from the halter; and the opportunity offered by the *Christiana* tragedy is embraced to put the correctness of the doctrine to the test. Some thirty persons, three of them white, and the rest colored, are arrested and imprisoned, on the allegation of *Treason*, and after a charge from Judge Kane, defining the law on this subject, true bills are found against

all but two of the persons, as well as against other parties who are still at large.

That these men or any of them will be convicted of the crime alleged against them, we regard as hardly within the range of probabilities. Our interest in regard to them does not arise so much from apprehensions for their safety—deeply as we sympathise with them in their persecutions—as from regard to the sacred principles of liberty, which are involved in their case. The doctrines contained in Judge Kane's charge, and in the speeches and writings of the men alluded to, and of others in high places, we regard as fatal to freedom of speech and subversive of all true liberty. Their promulgation, is an attempt—the first attempt since the days of the Sedition laws—to force upon us a crime almost unknown to our statute books, and, except in certain closely defined cases, wholly foreign to our institutions.

Our forefathers, in forming a Constitution which was to "secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and to their posterity," were very particular in their definition of the crime of treason. They knew well that in European despotisms the allegation of treason was the convenient pretence for persecuting honest men with pains and penalties, and filling the dungeons of tyranny with the friends of freedom. That American citizens might not be harassed on such pretexts, and that every man should be secured in the possession of his natural rights, they enacted in their fundamental law, that "the freedom of speech and of the press should not be abridged," and declared that "Treason against the United States shall consist *only* in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving aid and comfort." And yet Elijah Lewis and Castner Hanaway, for refusing to assist the slave-catchers; to fasten the chain on the limbs of his victim, are seized and imprisoned as Traitors! and Joseph Scarlet, on some pretext, perhaps still more slight, is held chargeable with the same crime! and it is said even—in the popular construction that is put upon this new doctrine—that every man is a traitor who refuses to obey a law of the land; and that all combinations of men who denounce and seek to make nugatory a constitutional provision, are treasonable combinations, and, as such, liable to the penalties of the law. Then is every Quaker a traitor who refuses to bear arms, and treats as a nullity the law imposing fines and

distraints for the non performance of military duties. Then are the Friends as a body, traitors, for they publicly declare their purpose to disregard all laws on this subject, and even make it part of their discipline to render those laws nugatory to the entire extent of their membership. .

We do not mean to assert that a definition so sweeping as this has been given or is likely to be given to the law by any one competent to speak on the subject, but we do say that such are the views which are sought to be propagated among the people, and which claim their sanction from men in high places; men who are willing for their own purposes to perpetuate the oppression of one class, even though it can only be done by striking at the liberties of another.

Against these bold attempts made by minions of the slave-power upon our liberties, we here enter our protest and take our determined stand. We will not *voluntarily* pass under the yoke. We will not submit our mouths to the padlock nor tamely offer our wrists to the rivet. In the exercise of our God-given rights—rights guaranteed to us too by the Federal constitution—and in the performance of our Christian duties, we will continue as heretofore to wage our moral warfare against the iniquitous system of American slavery, and will seek as we have ever sought, by moral and peaceful means, to effect its abolition.

At the outset of our enterprise we published to the world a deliberate declaration of our principles, and to these principles we have unswervingly adhered. In that declaration we said :

“We have combined together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which that of our fathers is incomplete; and which for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs as moral truth does physical force.

*Their* principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God for the pulling down of strong holds.

*Their* measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—The destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.”

As we said then, so say we now. These are our principles, this is our mode of action. Our method is, by moral power to seek to renovate public sentiment, fully believing that public senti-



ment once regenerated, the peaceful abolition of slavery will follow as the early and easy consequence.

We have never formed ourselves into a political party, nor do we ally ourselves to other similar organizations. We stand aloof from the polls and declare our purpose—such of us as are eligible—to accept no office under the Constitution. This we do from motives not only of policy but of principle. By voting or taking office under the constitution, we should be consenting, and making ourselves parties to its compromises : thereby pledging ourselves to assist in fastening the chain upon innocent men who have resumed their freedom, and to shoot down, if required, the insurgent who may strike for his liberty. These are things which we can neither do nor promise to do. The compromises of the constitution we regard as a compact with iniquity, and a solemn covenant for oppression ; as such we can neither support them nor fail on all proper occasions to expose and denounce them.

As for the actual disunion of the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding states, we believe our enemies are every day making this event more probable. Such persons as the Editor of the *Pennsylvanian* and of the *New York Herald* and other self-assumed friends of the Union, are in our deliberate judgment doing more to effect a dissolution than any other persons either North or South who are laboring openly for this object—as must be obvious to any who will look at the facts :

From the beginning, these prints, and others of a kindred character, have for their own base ends agreed in mis-stating the object and mis-representing the character of the abolitionists. They have described them to be fanatics, anarchists and incendiaries ; men full of hate to the South, and willing to see its people given up to rapine and servile war. These representations have been partially endorsed by other papers deemed more respectable, and thus attested they have circulated at the South, where, there being little other means of information, they could hardly fail to find credence.

In the course of events the policy of these venal prints and of their coadjutors requires them to go still further, and their next step is to declare that the abolitionists—now believed at the South to be the base creatures they have been described—are not confined to the limited numbers who are known by that name, but that they embrace vast multitudes of others who hold the same

doctrines and who are only withheld from a crusade upon the South by these editors, and the parties to which they belong or for which they are suing for favor. Having first proved to Southern satisfaction that the abolitionists are little better than savages, they now declare that the great mass of their political opponents hold the same principles, and under another name are seeking the same ends. This is denied by the advocates of the political party implicated, and the charge is hurled back with evidence to show that the party making it is itself largely composed of these offensive elements. Thus the South is assured on testimony which they deem to be credible; first, that the abolitionists are base men, actuated by malignant purposes and to be shunned as a pestilence; and second, that they form a chief portion of one of the great political parties at the North, and at least a very large portion of the other. Thus believing, is it not natural that the people of the Southern States should feel a strong repugnance to their northern associates, and should shrink from political fellowship with them? That they should be disaffected to the Union, and that some of them should even openly seek its disruption? Such; however, is the state of facts to some extent, and no class of men have been more influential in bringing it about, than these unscrupulous calumniators.

The effect of their labors at the North has not been dissimilar. These were the men who were among the most prominent advocates of the late Congressional compromise, and who have since been its strongest champions. They declared that the Fugitive Slave Law was a measure essential to the safety of the Union, and since its adoption, they have been insisting on its faithful execution as the only means of quieting the South, and giving peace to the country on the slave question. Their demands have been complied with, and evidences of the operation of the measure have been seen at Christiana, Boston, Syracuse, Buffalo, and in nearly all the States of the North. What is its operation? To cement the bonds of the Union? To make the North love the South better? To make freemen admirers of slavery? To enshrine the Constitution more deeply in the hearts of the people, and make new and stronger friends to its compromises? Every one knows that this is not the natural operation nor these the true fruits of this law. Bitterness and disaffection to the Union; disgust towards the compromises and disloyalty to the Constitution; sectional jealousy and deep and rankling heart-

burnings;—this is the operation and these the natural fruits of this measure. As oil extinguishes fire, or cantharides soothe the fretted sore, so do these measures mollify the slavery excitement and quiet the agitation which it has produced. Their effect is to increase the evil they were intended to cure, and their tendency to hasten the result they were designed to avert.

A word on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law in regard to ourselves. At our last meeting we declared our opposition to this law, and our purpose to treat it as a nullity. We did this in the exercise of what we believed then, and believe still, to be a constitutional right and a religious duty. In repeating our sentiments on this subject, and on this occasion, it is due to ourselves to say that we do so in no spirit of defiance or contumacy; but we wish to be understood, and we will not be intimidated.

The seizure of men and women on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of enslaving them, is denounced by our government as piracy, and forbidden by our laws on the penalty of death. The seizure of their descendants on the borders of Pennsylvania, is required by our government as a high civil duty, and a refusal to perform it is punished by our laws with fines and imprisonment. The act, in either case, is the same; geographical lines can make no difference in its character. If it be a crime on the coast of Africa to enslave human beings, it is a crime in the State of Pennsylvania. We would not commit it in the one case; we will not commit it in the other. In no place, under no circumstances; neither in obedience to law nor in violation of law, can we be induced, or will we be compelled to perpetrate the iniquity of consigning a human being to slavery.

The Fugitive Slave Law we regard as an infraction of the Constitution, an offence against the code of nations, and a violation of the law of God. We cannot, we will not obey it. On the contrary, we will on all proper occasions, and in all proper ways, discourage obedience to it, and do what in us lies to cancel it on the statute book, or make it a dead letter in practice.

These are our views, frankly avowed. This is our purpose, and we publish it to the world. We will not not disguise the one, and—come fines, come imprisonment, come death—with the help of God, we will not swerve from the other.

JAMES MOTT, President.

J. M. McKIM, Corresponding Secretary.

## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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PRESIDENT.

JAMES MOTT.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

EDWARD M. DAVIS,  
BENJAMIN C. BACON.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

J. MILLER McKIM.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HAWORTH WETHERALD.

TREASURER.

SARAH PUGH.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS.

LUCRETIA MOTT,  
ROBERT PURVIS,  
MARY GREW,  
OLIVER JOHNSON,

MARGARET JONES,  
CYRUS M. BURLEIGH,  
B. RUSH PLUMLY,  
ABBY KIMBER.

## APPENDIX.

### FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Society assembled according to appointment in the Horticultural Hall at West Chester, on Tuesday morning, Oct. 7th, at 11 o'clock, and was called to order by Edward M. Davis, the President.

On motion, C. M. Burleigh, Edward Webb, and Ann Preston were appointed secretaries. The following persons were chosen a Business Committee; Oliver Johnson, J. M. McKim, Mary Grew, Robert Purvis, Thomas Whitson, Hannah M. Darlington, and James Mott.

On motion of J. M. McKim it was voted unanimously:

That all persons present or who may be present during the sessions of our meetings, agreeing or disagreeing with our views, be invited to participate in our discussions.

A Nominating Committee consisting of the following persons were appointed: Simon Barnard, Geo. T. Atkinson, Lucretia Mott, M. B. Linton, Rebecca S. Potts.

The following persons were appointed a Finance Committee: C. M. Burleigh, B. C. Bacon, Alice Jackson, Graceanna Lewis, Edwin H. Coates.

Lucretia Mott desired that at the opening of the meeting, time should be allowed for an expression of feeling and sentiment arising from the occasion, either in remarks and addresses or by supplication. She alluded to the difficulties the cause had now to encounter, and the sad occurrences which had recently thrown a shadow over our feelings, and encouraged all its friends to persevering labor and unflinching faith and hope. While we had much to sadden our spirits, she believed we had no cause for discouragement. The opposition and violence we have to encounter only show the necessity of more active and extended Anti-Slavery efforts. We must expect to suffer for our principles, and be prepared to endure calmly and unflinchingly whatever may come to us.

The President remarked, that on taking the chair he had not spoken because he had so much to say. The occasion was most fruitful of thought and feeling. He said our reliance for victory is mainly on the fact that our cause is a religious one; it is eminently so, and in our appeals to the people we have aimed more to excite the religious feeling than any other. Our cause is therefore always onward. If there is any truth in the promises of the New Testament, or faith to be built upon the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, or trust in the spirit of progress, then our victory is certain: every battle is a victory. We believe in these, and our trust is in them. Every appeal made to the understanding and conscience on this subject is a victory. Man is formed to desire and love truth, and when presented clearly to his mind he receives it gladly. Although the clouds lower and the times are portentous of evil, they will pass away. We must for a time walk by faith. We are engendering ideas, and they are taking root in the convictions of the people, and will in good time show themselves in works.

Who that has any idea of justice or love of liberty can object to our aim,

our principles, or our measures? When we tell men that our object is the abolition of Slavery, and that our means for attaining it are preaching and printing the truth in reference to it; all that is good within them must respond in real sympathy. We assert that slavery is wrong; who objects to it? being wrong it must be done away; who can doubt it? Who will not desire it, that loves his country or his race, or has any regard for his own rights?

Our faith for success is in the fact that slavery is wrong, and that the people will say it must be abolished, when they come to appreciate the spirit of freedom. It is our work to see that the evil of the one and the good of the other be presented to them.

Our success thus far has been most encouraging to press on. Through all the violence, the oppression, the misrepresentation, the prejudices we have encountered, we have been successful. If we rightly appreciate our cause and its principles, we cannot despond.

J. M. McKim was gratified at the remarks of the Chairman. He would be sorry for the meeting to adjourn its opening session with feelings of despondency. He did not think there was any real despondency among abolitionists. He had seen no evidences of it. There might be some depression of feeling. Abolitionists, he continued, have had much to try and sadden them; much to excite their sympathy; but nothing to weaken their determination to pursue their course, and to maintain unfalteringly their principles. It is natural that Mrs. Mott's feelings in connection with the late outrages of the Slave Power, should be a little sombre. She has recently visited the gloomy prison, where thirty innocent men are confined. She has gone from cell to cell and heard their tales of suffering and sorrow, and the circumstances of the outrage which had torn most of them, without ground even for suspicion, from homes and families, and cast them into prison. She has conversed with Elijah Lewis, Castner Hanaway and Joseph Scarlet, men esteemed by all who know them, for the purity of their lives, and their excellence as citizens; men who would step aside rather than set foot upon a worm, though no better men perhaps, than the twenty-six or seven men of a darker complexion imprisoned with them, by the same cruel act. It was enough to pain any heart possessing common feeling.

But in all this and the attending circumstances there is no cause for despondency. Though adverse and unhappy, these events are no worse than we expected and predicted. Leviathan is not to be drawn out with a hook. A system so interwoven with every fibre of our social, political, commercial and religious institutions, cannot be destroyed without a struggle, and we are not alarmed when the struggle comes. There is force in a late remark by the wife of Theodore D. Weld, that this Fugitive Slave Law was worth a thousand lives; it had brought the contest to a crisis, and though long and hard, victory is sure. Do these things make men love slavery, or slave catching, or respect that law more? No. They deepen their abhorrence of them all. Let Syracuse bear witness. These extraordinary efforts on the part of the slave power are proofs of its consciousness of extraordinary danger. We feel and see most sensibly the evils resulting from the Christiana conflict, for we are near the scene, and many of the sufferers are our personal friends; but men at a distance, cool, and philosophic statesmen, who view it more calmly, see in it hopeful signs of the defeat and downfall of the Fugitive Law. The rage of politicians and slaveholders, is no evidence of their strength; but rather proves their weakness and our strength.

B. C. Bacon suggested the reading of the Declaration of Sentiment by the American Anti-Slavery Convention of '33, and that it be re-affirmed by a vote of the Society. The suggestion was adopted, but no copy of the document being present it was postponed to another session.

A letter of sympathy, from Henry Grew, was read by the Secretary, and the following Report of the Treasurer.

*Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society.—Treasurer's Report for the year, ending 10th Mo., 1st, 1851.*

RECEIPTS.

|  |   |   |   |   |           |
|--|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Balance from 10th mo. 1st, 1850,                           | - | - | - | - | \$50.75   |
| Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society,                  | - | - | - | - | 700.00    |
| Individual Subscriptions,                                  | - | - | - | - | 2216.35   |
| Loan (without interest) Trustees of Legacy of Orpha Hewes, | - | - | - | - | 300.00    |
| Publishing Agent,  | - | - | - | - | 2048.54   |
|  |   |   |   |   | <hr/>     |
|  |   |   |   |   | \$5315.64 |

PAYMENTS.

|                        |   |   |   |   |   |           |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Anti-Slavery Standard, | - | - | - | - | - | 700.00    |
| Pennsylvania Freeman,  | - | - | - | - | - | 2488.64   |
| Agents,                | - | - | - | - | - | 1516.66   |
| Rent of Office,        | - | - | - | - | - | 180.00    |
| Sundries,              | - | - | - | - | - | 363.45    |
| Balance,               | - | - | - | - | - | 66.89     |
|                        |   |   |   |   |   | <hr/>     |
|                        |   |   |   |   |   | \$5315.64 |

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

Phila. 10th mo., 1st, 1851.

The undersigned, under appointment of the Executive Committee, having examined the above report, finds it properly vouched for, and the balance on hand correct.

HAWORTH WETHERALD, Auditor.

Philada. 10th mo. 4th, 1851.

On motion of J. M. McKim it was voted that when we adjourn it be until 2 o'clock, P. M., and that the subsequent sessions of the Society begin at 9½ A. M. and 2 P. M. This arrangement as explained by the mover, was made to give time in the evenings for the several committees to hold consultations and make up their reports, as well as to insure a general knowledge of the hours of assembling and a punctual attendance.

Elizabeth Paxson addressed the meeting with deep feeling and solemnity; remarking that she had come to this meeting—the first time she had attended an annual meeting of this Society—under a strong sense of religious obligation. While on her way she had felt the spirit of prayer and devout supplication that the members of this meeting should be strengthened to hold on in the good work they have begun; that no difficulties should discourage them, and no sufferings or dangers daunt them. I feel, she continued, constrained to mix and to mingle more and more with the despised and hated abolitionists; with the men and women who have risked property, reputation, their own liberty and life even, for the cause of the helpless slave; with these devoted people who are counted as rebels against the country and the religion of the land. The speaker also encouraged the exercise of a hopeful spirit and constant trust in the divine promises, and a sense of reliance upon the divine power.

Thomas Borton, of Ohio, spoke briefly, but full of hope for our cause. We had fairly roused the monster, and were now in a grapple with it, and if we are true we must triumph.

Oliver Johnson knew no such thing as despondency in connection with this cause. He had never for one moment felt it since, in early childhood, he gave his heart to the work. We have difficulties, and for them we should thank God. They are the discipline which we need. It is this which makes men and women of us. They give us courage and hope. If we suffer we must remember that the men that have done most for the world, who have been its best benefactors, have suffered most intensely. How insignificant seem all our sufferings for the right, when we compare them with the early Christian martyrs. What though we have the government with its army and navy, its bribed officials and its press, against us—

“Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.”

We know that God is on our side; good and true men are on our side! that they that be for us are more than they that be against us. Why then should we ever be gloomy? Our darkest hour must break to a glorious morning, and our seeming defeat turn to victory as surely as that God reigns.

The Society then adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

#### TUESDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society met as adjourned; the President taking the chair, and a large congregation of its members and friends being present. The minutes of the morning session were read by the Secretary and accepted.

A letter was received and read from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, explaining the reasons of his detention from the meeting, expressing his warm sympathy with, and fraternal affection for the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania, and speaking words of encouragement and friendly counsel to the meeting.

The Corresponding Secretary read the Annual Report of the Executive Committee, an elaborate, able and interesting document, containing a careful historical review of the action of the slave power and the progress of the anti-slavery cause during the year past, and an examination of the position now occupied by our enterprise. It was listened to with the deepest attention and interest by the audience. On motion, the report was accepted and ordered to be printed in pamphlet form with the proceedings of the Meeting.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions which were read by Mary Grew and accepted for discussion.

*Resolved*, that we reiterate, with faith confirmed by long experience, the fundamental principles of our enterprise; that the history of the last few years has been a succession of proofs that Slavery is unnatural, unjust and inhuman, and that the law of Right, and the true interests of the human race, require its immediate abolition.

*Resolved*, That although in the moral blindness and strange infatuation of the American people, as illustrated by their political leaders, we see indications of that madness which is the precursor of national destruction; and although the great body of the American church, by its heartlessness and disregard of the claims of the slave, its treachery to Christian principles, has ranged itself on the side of the oppressor; we still trust in the power of Truth to destroy Error, of Right to vanquish Wrong; and therefore confidently hope for the success of our enterprise, and for the practical realization of the theories of Freedom, which are the boast of the American nation.



*Resolved*, That the Fugitive Slave Bill passed by the American Congress, in September, 1850, being in violation of the law of God, inasmuch as it requires that which He forbids, and forbids that which he requires, is *null and void*; and that obedience to it, is treason to Him; and that whenever in the course of events, it shall become necessary for us to choose between disobedience to his laws and human statutes, we will not hesitate to obey God rather than man.

*Resolved*, That in the recent Christiana Tragedy and its consequences, we witness the natural results of this most unrighteous and cruel enactment, and that as such we heartily deplore them, as most disgraceful to our country in the eyes of the world, and especially of those nations of Europe who, while struggling for freedom, against despotic power, have looked toward this nation as a model government, and as a home of Liberty.

*Resolved*, That those clergymen, who have preached in behalf of this Fugitive Slave Bill, inculcating obedience to its requisitions thereby contradicting the Divine law, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant who has escaped from his master unto thee," and disregarding the Christian injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and setting at nought every consideration of humanity and religion, which is outraged by the surrender of an innocent man to the tender mercies of an enraged despot, or of a virtuous and trembling woman to the clutches of a brutal and irresponsible master, have desecrated their office, disgraced their names, and ought to be regarded as teachers of practical atheism.

*Resolved*, That, with scarcely an exception, the newspaper press of the city of Philadelphia has proved itself wholly derelict to its high duties and responsibilities; that it has betrayed the cause of Liberty into the hands of her enemies; that it puts light for darkness, and darkness for light, calling good evil, and evil good; and that it is utterly unworthy to be a guide, as it has ceased to be a representative of a free people.

*Resolved*, That the American nation, in demanding for its Federal Constitution supreme reverence and obedience, and by its impious and contemptuous denial of the obligations of a higher law, proves itself as truly guilty of the sin of idolatry as are the worshippers of Boodh or Juggernaut; and continually violates the command, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is unworthy of the support of philanthropists; because it deceives and misleads the nation, by professing to offer a remedy for American slavery; because it apologizes for Slavery, and recognizes slaves as property; and because it fosters a cruel prejudice against our colored population, hinders their moral and intellectual elevation, and seeks their expulsion from their native country.

*Resolved*, That we earnestly recommend to abolitionists, to maintain a consistent testimony against slavery, by carefully endeavoring to abstain from the purchase and use of the products of slave-labor.

*Resolved*, That in carrying on to its consummation, the great enterprise to which we are pledged, *viz.*, the abolition of American Slavery, we trust, as we have ever trusted, not to the power of numbers, not to efficacy of physical force, but to the weapons of a moral and peaceful warfare, with which one may vanquish a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight; and that with unshaken confidence in those, and in the principles which we advocate, we renew our pledges of fidelity to our oppressed brethren, and to the cause of Liberty, now betrayed, insulted, and outraged by the American people.

[These resolutions were subsequently adopted with enthusiasm and unanimity, an addition having been made to the 8th, which is reported in the proceedings.]

Rev. Samuel Aaron being invited by the President and a call from the

audience, addressed the meeting, expressing his gratification at being present, his cordial sympathy with our great object, and his desire to forget all diversity of opinions and views in a common labor to redeem our country from its sin and woe.

The first resolution was read, and a little discussion occurred upon the proposal to take them up separately.

Oliver Johnson alluded to the disappointment of the assembly at the absence of Mr. Garrison, a disappointment with which he fully sympathized. It seemed to produce a reluctance to speak. Every abolitionist should come to the meeting with a hearty enthusiasm to work for the cause, rather than to enjoy the eloquence of distinguished speakers. Self-reliance is the duty of every friend of our cause.

Nathan Evans approved all the resolutions except that upon the church, which he thought too tame. The church had proved itself the strongest barrier to freedom and truth, the mightiest engine of oppression, and such the society should pronounce it.

Wm. Lloyd agreed with Oliver Johnson, that we should not lean upon great and eloquent men. We thus become enervated, when we should be growing stronger by personal exertion.

Thomas Hambleton thought that whatever reluctance to speak had been shown, was not from coldness or sluggishness of feeling, for no one could now be indifferent. He advocated the first resolution declaring slavery unnatural.

Evan Pugh rose with diffidence in the presence of the grey-haired men before him; but he saw also young men and women whom he hoped would grow gray in this work of humanity. He saw no reason for the slightest discouragement. If abolitionists were ever to be disheartened, it was when the men they had trusted betrayed the cause of Liberty to its foes, either openly leaguering themselves with the slave power, or deserting their posts, to permit its success. But then we did not despair or despond. This treachery only excited us to new zeal, and the recent and deplored results of that treachery—the violence and persecution we have witnessed—should also quicken our fervor. We have seen nothing more than we had reason to expect. Until man can be dehumanized, and the whole purpose of his Maker frustrated, we cannot be surprised at his resistance to that highest outrage upon his manhood, an attempt to enslave him. The speaker commented upon the Fugitive Slave Law, denying its obligation, and declaring that he would never obey its inhuman and unchristian requirements. If, he said, it is *treason* to fulfil the Christian law of sympathy and love to the fugitive slave, then am I a *traitor*, and will take the punishment of a traitor.

This declaration was received with general applause.

Thomas Whitson followed in defense of the first resolution, showing slavery to be unnatural and inhuman, and consequently that the government which sustains it is at war with God and his eternal law. In this he saw cause of encouragement in our assault upon Slavery. No government could stand which arrays itself thus against the laws of Nature. Only that government which is based on Justice can be stable. To it there will be no traitors. It will need no weapons of war for its protection. Its laws will be executed by the hearty concurrence and support of a grateful people. But so long as our Government sustains Slavery, it has in itself the seed of destruction, and must expect disobedience, revolts and convulsions from its subjects.

Lucretia Mott read two resolutions, reaffirming our adherence to the sentiment "*No Union with Slaveholders*," and declaring it the duty of abo-

litionists to refuse all religious, political and commercial union with them. She sustained the resolutions with pertinent remarks, urging that we should not be satisfied with our present attainments, but should go *forward*. As we had already refused religious and political connection with slave-holders, we should take another step and break our commercial connection, thus treating them as we would treat all other flagrant criminals. Alluding to Samuel Aaron's desire to merge all differences of sentiment in our common labor against Slavery, she responded to the liberal feeling, but said that no desire for harmony should induce us to yield any principle. Numbers and friends gained at the expense of principle bring no strength, but weakness only. The resolutions were then handed to the Business Committee for their consideration.

On motion of J. M. McKim, it was voted to appoint a committee of forty persons, to meet this evening at Joseph Hoopes' house, to consider and report upon plans of operation for the ensuing year. The following persons having been named, on motion of E. M. Davis, the committee on business, nomination and finance, and the officers of the meeting were added to complete the number. Joshua Hoopes, Thomas Hambleton, Geo. Corson, John Agnew, Esther Hays, Sarah Pugh, Barclay Ivins, Evan Pugh, Elizabeth Paxson, Abbey Kimber, Dr. Hamor, Mercer Whitson, Levi Coates, Pliney Sexton, Thomas Garrett, Isaac Roberts, Chandler Darlington, Simpson Preston, Wm. Lloyd, and Mardon Wilson.

The Society then adjourned to 9½ o'clock to-morrow.

#### WEDNESDAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Society met in the Horticultural Hall as adjourned, the President taking the Chair.

The minutes of last session were read by the Secretary and accepted.

The President remarked that, while it was not our custom to invite vocal prayer at the opening of our meetings, there was liberty for any one to offer it who felt disposed.

Oliver Johnson, on behalf of the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions, which were received for consideration and action in their due order:

*Resolved*, That, in view of the increasing demands of the slave-power in our country, and of the all too willing compliance of the religious, political, and commercial organizations and institutions of the North, with these unholy requirements, it behooves us to consecrate ourselves anew to our first principles, and to inscribe on our banner, in still larger characters than heretofore, "No Union with Slaveholders."

*Resolved*, That we recommend to the friends of freedom to circulate remonstrances against the Fugitive Slave Law, and Anti-Slavery petitions to Congress, with a zeal and industry commensurate with the importance of the crisis.

Chandler Darlington moved that the resolutions before the meeting be voted upon separately. The chairman suggested that though they were all open for discussion, it was understood that they would be taken up singly for adoption, and the motion was withdrawn.

The adoption of the first resolution being moved, Samuel Aaron sustained it in an eloquent speech, which was frequently responded to by the audience with much warmth. He reviewed the leading facts in the history of the aggressions of the slave power during the past year, and its present designs for the increase of influence and territory. In spite, he said, of Daniel Webster's prediction; in spite of his new laws of nature and physical geography,

slavery is now going into New Mexico. Another war with Mexico is plotted to compel the rendition of fugitive slaves escaping from Texas; though the demand for their re-delivery is indirect violation of the laws and usages of nations. A resolution is now in progress to dismember Northern Mexico from that country and annex it to ours. We know the designs of the slaveholders and their panders upon Cuba; that they intend to "liberate" it from Spain and unite it to our government, to make it an intermediate post between the South and Africa, for the transaction of the African slave trade, or a market for our own republican slave-breeders, in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina.

There were never so arrogant demands made by the slave power as now. Statesmen and men in high places are joining hands to suppress discussion upon this subject, and they command that it *shall be stopped*. I spurn the arrogant dictation, I condemn their menaces and the whole array of power with which they seek to intimidate us. All this is a damning proof of the necessity of putting slavery down beyond the hope of resurrection.

The resolution was then past by a unanimous vote.

C. M. Burleigh was gratified at the hearty response given by the audience to the resolution just passed. It indicated an interest and feeling most auspicious for our cause. He hoped the same spirit would be shown upon all the resolutions. It becomes us at this juncture to speak out plainly. It is no time to "speak with bated breath and whispering humbleness." The hour calls for frank and emphatic words and manly action, and no Abolitionist would shrink from the call.

After brief remarks by Lucretia Mott, the second resolution was taken up, and discussed at length and with cordial unanimity of feeling, by Mary Grew, Ira Gibson, Joseph A. Dugdale, Elizabeth Paxson, George W. Taylor, and others.

Mary Grew rejoiced in the knowledge that "the Lord God omnipotent reigneth," notwithstanding the attempts of the American Congress to legislate him out of existence; and in a deeply impressive speech she stated the principles and measures of the anti-slavery cause, and grounds of our opposition to the government, the law and the church, and our confident hope for final success. The speech was received with most evident sympathy and satisfaction by the large assembly.

Ira Gibson remarked that he was a stranger here, but he had come to the meeting with six others, from a remote part of New Jersey, to sympathise with the Pennsylvania abolitionists in this time of trial, and drawn also by a common interest in the cause of freedom. He gave encouraging statements of the popular feeling upon the Fugitive Law in New Jersey. A friend had expressed surprise to him that seven men could be found in New Jersey who would repudiate that law, and who would go such a distance to an anti-slavery meeting. He would reply that there were more than seventy times seven, not in New Jersey, but in its first Congressional District, every man of whom was liable to the charge of treason according to Judge Kane's charge. The Democratic Congressman elect from the District, Nathan T. Stratton, had said openly that he would not obey the command of the Fugitive Law.

The President was glad to welcome our friends from New Jersey, and repeated the invitation to all persons, whatever were their opinions, to participate in our discussions.

Joseph A. Dugdale spoke at length, and with much feeling, in favor of the resolution, and of more open and active effort for the anti-slavery cause, which he recognized as a great religious movement. Having a strong and abiding faith in God and the divinity of principle—he was prepared to say that the abolitionists would succeed. True, it might be through baptisms of

suffering; it might be through the blood of martyrs; it might be by the dashing in pieces of this government. But the principles of eternal justice are destined to succeed, or there is no God. I am, he said, more accustomed to speaking in religious assemblies, than before an audience like this, yet I can not forbear, on this occasion, bearing my testimony for freedom. I have listened this morning with interest—with intense interest—to the resolutions that have been introduced to the meeting, not being present yesterday, and I am glad that they are written with such force. They are words that have fire in them—the fire of liberty and truth. I trust that I may never be found a traitor against the government of God, and that we shall all maintain our allegiance to the law of justice. Those that maintained that position have been sufferers in all ages,

There is a striking resemblance between our position and that of the old prophets and moral heroes of the past. When those brave Hebrew captives openly refused to bow to the golden image of the Babylonish King, and were thrown into a fiery furnace, the king was amazed to see them walk through the flames unharmed, and with them “a fourth man like unto the Son of God.” So, if we are true and fearless, shall we walk safely through the fires of persecution, with God’s angel for our protector and guardian. There are times when the prospect looks dark, and our souls are oppressed, but my faith is in God, in principle, in truth. I pray that we may be nerved for the trial, that we may acquit ourselves like men and women in this conflict—never quailing before man or government, but boldly sustaining our principles. We may lose reputation—be cast out of the synagogue, but let us take it all joyfully. We may be cast into prison, or suffer martyrdom; but until the demon Slavery and its abettors can dethrone the Divine government, we are certain of final triumph. Our freedom and our peace, neither man nor demons can destroy.

What is the system against which we are arrayed? A system which in its crimson ledger writes down men as property! It is open rebellion against God—a walking horror—a system, the character of which, no language can portray—a system that destroys the body, and crushes the soul of its victim. There is terror in the very word “slavery.” It is all that is horrible—it is treason against the government of the Infinite. Any government which thus rebels against the Divine, will be dashed to pieces, and it deserves to be. Is it treason to speak thus? Let me be a man—let me maintain my allegiance before the court of Heaven, though I give offense to my fellows. This is a time when storms are gathering about us, and it behooves us to draw nearer together. Let us not be terrified and go away. Let us become more banded and united, and let us pledge ourselves to one another and to God, that we will at least make an earnest effort to be true. I know the frailty of poor human nature. I may be one of the first, when the trial comes, to forsake my principles; but I pray to God that I may be a man—that I may be enabled to meet suffering as becomes a man. And when we place ourselves on the side of justice and right—though we may fear, in moments of weakness, that we may lose our all—yet, such is the beauty of the Divine philosophy, the moment we do this, we gain everything that is worth possessing. I sympathise deeply with all interested in this subject. I feel sympathy as well for the free colored people as the slave. I have not been a stranger to all the sufferings or the tales of woe which have gushed from their mourning hearts at the voice of sympathy.

The speaker illustrated his remarks by several touching tales of heroic endurance by fugitive slave women, and concluded by an earnest rebuke of the religious bodies of the country, including the Society of Friends, which, while making higher professions than others, had been criminally inactive or

hostile to this Christian enterprise for the "deliverance" of the captive. Let us, he said,

"If we have whispered Truth,  
Whisper no longer,  
But speak as the tempest does,  
Stern and stronger."

George W. Taylor felt that the resolution was true. The people do seem infatuated, but it is only on the surface. The mass are not so demented. It has always been repugnant to their feelings to deliver up fugitive slaves. We should be firm, and if we are bound by the Constitution to throw no barriers in the way of the master, at least refuse to aid him. It is also true that the religious bodies of our country are lamentably delinquent on this subject. The apathy of the Society of Friends is deplorable, and most discouraging to its friends, who desire to see it engaged in every Christian work.

The second resolution was then adopted by a unanimous vote, and the third taken up.

J. M. McKim sustained it in a forcible speech, analysing and exposing the falsity of the new doctrines so popular with our modern politicians, that "there is no higher law than the Constitution," and that "All good citizens are bound to obey law as law, whatever its character."

These doctrines were not only at war with a pure morality, but with the practice of all classes of the people, good and bad. The Society of Friends are acknowledged to be "good citizens," whatever may be thought of their Christianity. But they have always been, and now are open violators of the laws, and teach others to be so. Do they not refuse to obey the militia law? to serve in the army during war? or to pay tithes to an established church, where the law requires it? Do our cotton merchants never take or give illegal interest for money? Do they never evade custom house laws? Do our patriotic office holders never take illegal fees? Are license laws sacred in the eyes of men most clamorous just now for the sanctity of law as law? How many of our citizens obey the law prohibiting the passage of small bills? who will assert that whosoever disobeys this law are not "good citizens?" Many of these habitual violators of law are among our best citizens. But if men may violate laws of the currency, of interest, of national defense, without loss of reputation as good citizens, may they not disobey human laws in obedience to the claims of humanity and the positive command of God?

The speaker commented forcibly upon the new law of treason, begotten by judicial construction, for the punishment of christian mercy, of common humanity, and a love of liberty and justice, as the highest crime; showing that it strikes the axe at the root of all free speech and a free press.

He alluded to Judge Kane's charge upon the law of treason, which seemed designed for two constructions, a legal and a popular one. As an illustration of the way it was understood by even the officials of the government, he stated that one of the U. S. deputy marshals, after hearing it, said of the Rev. Mr. Ftnness, "I can arrest this Furness for treason, for preaching as he does." He referred to the imperial mandate of Daniel Webster, that "this discussion must be put down, and "appealed from Philip drunk to Philip sober," by reading from a speech of Mr. Webster at Niblo's Saloon, the declaration that—

"On the general question of Slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The subject has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but has struck a far deeper toned chord. It has arrested the religious feeling of the country; it has taken strong hold on the consciences of men. He is a rash man, indeed, little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the

people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be respected. It may be reasoned with, it may be made willing, I believe it is entirely willing, to fulfil all existing engagements and existing duties, to uphold and defend the Constitution, as it is established, with whatever regrets about some provisions which it does actually contain. But to coerce it into silence, to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it,—should all this be attempted, I know nothing even in the Constitution, or in the Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explosion which might follow."

He also read from the N. Y. Evening Post an article showing that the resistance excited against the odious Fugitive Law, was in the most peaceful and orderly communities, and that it must continue while attempts were made to enforce it, and quoted Judge McLean, and the chief justice of Maine, in support of the right of the citizen to disobey an unconstitutional or an anti-christian law, and abide the consequences; concluding with a denunciation of the law, not only as an outrage on our natural rights and Christian obligations, but upon the guarantees of the Federal Constitution itself.

Oliver Johnson was delighted at the free, spontaneous and harmonious course the meeting had taken. The resolution presented the real issue now before the country: whether we are bound to obey human laws that violate the law of God. The anti-slavery movement is awakening the nation to a consciousness of the divine law. It is a trumpet of resurrection over its dead conscience, summoning to life and action.

Mr. Johnson showed also, that we were sustained both by the examples and the precepts of the Bible, by the action of the prophets and of Jesus Christ, and all the early teachers of Christianity, in the position that we must disobey the laws of man which conflict with those of God.

Look, said he, at the old prophets. See them braving the government. Hear their terrible denunciations of its iniquity framed by law, its legal oppressions and impieties, its unholy compacts and combinations, its covenants with death and agreements with hell. See them go to death in this unflinching adhesion to right, against law and government. So too did Jesus and his apostles, and the christian martyrs of every age. Jesus himself told his followers that they should be persecuted by governments, and be brought before kings; and he and they were charged with treason and sedition.

The sect that never finds itself opposed to the government gives the best proof that it is wrong. Is there no need of a martyr spirit now? Is the world all converted to Christ? Who is the best citizen, the man that holds the law of God always supreme, or he who puts the human statutes above it? If I have no right to disobey the government, my conscience is worthless. I owe no allegiance to God, but the government is responsible for me. I am bound to obey human statutes only where they conform to the divine law written on my heart.

We have one ground of encouragement in the fact, that even the advocates of the Fugitive Slave Law dare not defend it before the people on its merits. They tell us to obey it because it is a law, not because it is just, or merciful or wise. This is a confession of its injustice and cruelty.

Mr. J. concluded by presenting some of the hopeful and encouraging aspects of the cause, and exhorting abolitionists to press on with unwavering faith and purpose.

Cyrus M. Burleigh agreed that the question presented by the resolutions was the great issue between ourselves and the American Nation. It places

the Anti-Slavery cause in its true aspect; not as a movement merely for the emancipation of three millions of slaves and their elevation to manhood, important as that is; but as the great movement of the age for the vindication of human liberty, the rights of conscience, and religious freedom. We are now to decide whether we are freemen or slaves. We stand in the same position in which the old Covenanters stood, except that we do not, like them, resort to the sword for defense of our rights. Our reliance is upon surer and better weapons—that armor which is mighty through God to the overthrow of wrong. Ever and anon, in the progress of the ages, this issue is presented to the reformers of the world. When the tyrant-power sees its dominion endangered, or some old Wrong begins to totter under the assault of truth, the attempt is made to smother free speech, silence all remonstrance, and put out the light of Truth, by shutting every mouth which would speak its message. Such a crisis have we now reached. The slave power, alarmed at the spread of free principles, and the growth of a free spirit in the land, and maddened with the consciousness that its strength is departing, stakes its existence upon putting down this agitation. Thus our effort for the freedom of others has become a struggle for our own liberties, for the very existence of a pure religion upon this Continent.

Never was ranker atheism uttered than the repudiation by our statesmen and judges of the authority of any law higher than the Constitution, and their claim that we must obey the law of the Government, however it violates the law of God. Foremost among the teachers of this atheistic doctrine, stand the leading clergymen and religious presses. The Rev. Dr. Sharpe, in his Thanksgiving Sermon in defense of the Fugitive Slave law, declares that "the christian citizen is bound to obey the law *right or wrong*." The late Rev. Wm. M. Rogers, upon the same occasion, asserted that to "teach men to disobey the law on the ground that it violates the law of God is an *infidel Christianity*." These sentiments are echoed by hundreds of the most influential pulpits of the North. The *Journal of Commerce*, whose circulation and influence among the controlling classes in our great churches and religious bodies, are perhaps unequalled, declares in a recent article, that "*Where the law requires a certain act, conscience or reason has no business to interfere*;" and "though the law be tyrannical and wicked, though the Nation be cursed for its crime, individuals will stand guiltless before God who aid in its fulfilment." Again it asserts that, "so far as relates to civil law," every man "*is an automaton moved by the law*," and that "if he sets up his conscience as the guide of his actions, he will sin in violating the law *whether right or wrong*." These are the doctrines taught in the high places of the Church and State. They annihilate individual conscience, and deny personal accountability to God. By such monstrous teachings alone can slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law be sustained. Upon the question whether these principles shall prevail is our battle drawn. Against us, clergymen and politicians have joined to crucify Christ and his truth afresh. (A voice: They would have been Tories in the Revolution.) Yes, and they would have been Pagans or Pharisees in the days of Christ and the early Christians; and Inquisitors in the time of the Spanish Inquisition; for they are most fierce in their persecution of all who reject their arrogant and blasphemous claims.

This doctrine, that "we must obey law as law, without regard to its character," casts God out of the universe. It dethrones the Almighty and puts Millard Fillmore and the U. S. Congress in his place, as the Supreme Authority over conscience and life. It exalts a corrupt, selfish and drunken Legislature above all that is called God, and threatens fiery vengeance against every one who will not bow to its edicts. "Choose ye this day



whom ye will serve," God or the Moloch that has been set up for our worship.

Who are the men whose vote is thus made to override eternal law? The wisest and best men in society? No. Ask those who choose them, and they will tell you they are selected not for their capacity, but for their availability—their power to command the votes of the multitude. Those who elect them seldom revere them, or confide in their honor or integrity. It is rare, almost accidental, that a good man obtains a high office. Yet we are told that the votes of a majority of this corrupt legislature given under the influence of fear, bribery or drunkenness, are binding on good men and good citizens.

No evil is so destructive to the welfare of society as the propagation of false maxims among the people. It is like poisoning the wells and the water courses from which all men drink; like infecting the air we breathe. And of all the false maxims which are laying waste the morality of this nation, none is more fatal than this.

The speaker, after detailing facts in illustration of the character of the means and men by which the Fugitive Law was passed, asked, Is there anything in all this to excite our reverence for the law? Do not the character of its authors and its executors, and the circumstances of its passage and execution aggravate its own wickedness and make it more abhorrent to all good men? Bad men made it. Bad men execute it. It was enacted by fraud and violence. It is enforced by cruelty and ruffianism, and good men are its victims. Under it the best and purest men are treated as felons, while scoundrels go loose and are dignified as officers of the law. If this reign of terror and rule of legalized ruffianism continues, the time may come when good men inside the jails shall rejoice that their prison walls are strong enough to protect them from the violent without. Our work is to establish the rule of justice, at any expense of labor and suffering on our part.

The song "I am an Abolitionist," &c., was then sung, which was received with great fervor by the whole assembly.

The Society then took a recess till 2 o'clock.

### WEDNESDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society met as adjourned, the President in the chair.

Thomas Garrett made interesting statements concerning the character and operation of the inhuman law of Delaware against the free people of color, showing that it is abhorrent to the better classes of the citizens, and even the officers of the State.

The 3d resolution again coming up, Samuel Aaron addressed the Society at length, and in a thrilling speech in its support, and in exposure of the enormities of the Fugitive Slave law and the atrocities of its practical operation; declaring that while he would not counsel any men to organize for forcible resistance to the law, he would not hesitate to strike down any ruffian who should attempt to enslave him or his family, either with or without law.

He believed the law not only unchristian and inhuman, but unconstitutional as Senators Chase, Seward and Hale, Horace Mann, Robert Rantoul, John Van Buren, Judge Spaulding of Ohio, and other eminent lawyers and jurists had declared it. It endangers every freeman by its ex-parte testimony, its Star Chamber Courts, bribed by ten dollars to decide against freedom, and the infamous wretches who act as its officers. Its advocates make no attempt to defend it in detail, but only by wholesale and overbearing assertions. The devil has found no agent impudent enough to jus-

tify it in detail. We are told that it is a *Law*, that there is no higher law; that it is constitutional and shall be enforced, and those who resist it shall be hung as traitors. What regard shall we pay to such denunciations? Daniel Webster is a great man, but he is not the Almighty God. I do not know that even God himself requires me to obey a law without an answering sense of its justice in my own soul. I repel this arrogant dictation to my conscience. When I am commanded to bow to it, I stand up as stiff against it as Cleopatra's needle. None of the slave-catching Commissioners under this law, have attempted to show that it is right. The convincing argument for it, with them is, it puts money in their purse. Slavery against Freedom is ten dollars against five, and of course must outweigh it.

What right has the law to command me to catch a slave? Suppose he is property. Am I bound to hunt and capture your horses and pigs? You ask me to do it, and I may; but you command me, and I refuse. But when I am commanded to seize a man to drag him into slavery, I would suffer a thousand deaths before I would do it. I will not submit to slavery nor help enslave others. Should any scoundrel kidnapper invade my home to drag my wife and daughters away to the doom of the slave-woman, I would resist him to the last extremity. I would kill him as a religious duty. I might not resist if it was only to carry them into Austrian despotism or Russian serfage, but rather than he should carry them into the horrors and pollutions of American slavery I would blow out his brains, and so would you, every man of you. You all look as if you would do it, spite of Commissioners, judges, and the threats of treason. I am not a Turk nor blood-thirsty, nor do I counsel any organized resistance to the law, but I believe that I violate the law of God when I suffer myself to be dragged into slavery without using all the means he has given me to resist it.

Mr. A. then read the account of the rescue and liberation of the slave Jerry by the people of Syracuse, and expressed his pleasure at the act, and especially at the refusal of the soldiers to serve in defending the slave catchers. The men who made that rescue, he said, were the men to support good laws.

He reviewed the facts in the Christiana affray, and said he was sorry for the death of Gorsuch, for a man whose heart was filled with tyranny, who had come to slaughter others, was not prepared to die—to meet his God. But he would have been more sorry had the slave-catchers got Parker and Pinckney and these other brave men, and carried them back into slavery. Those colored men were only following the example of Washington and the American heroes of '76.

Their cause was righteous if their means were not altogether right. We must pardon something to poor human nature, thus driven to its last extremity. Could we expect men so oppressed, so stripped of protection, when assailed by a band of armed kidnappers, to do better? He would let the world know that we sympathized with our brethren who are imprisoned on the charge of treason. He had no faith in the evidence of the scoundrel officer Kline. From the information we had obtained from persons upon whom reliance could be placed, he was free to say that if those men in prison were traitors, then he was a traitor. (Cheers.) If they are to be hung up, as a spectacle, between heaven and earth, according to law, then all the abolitionists present, and every man who loves liberty enough to risk life for it, ought also to be hung. We have as good a right to be hanged as any one.

But the American Government, before it talks of hanging any one in such a cause, should do a great many other things. It should obliterate its Declaration of Independence: burn its history and its school-books filled with

the fiery eloquence of Chatham, Burke, Sydney, Emmett, and even Webster as he was, on Plymouth Rock and at Bunker Hill; hang every school master and Christian teacher; tumble down and grind to powder every revolutionary monument; forget the example and desecrate the name of Washington.

Oliver Johnson remarked that he had been informed, by a distinguished member of the last Congress, that Daniel Webster's most intimate friend—his man Friday, Mr. Ashmun—had come to him privately, and put into his hand a synopsis of a speech in the handwriting of Mr. Webster. It was an anti-slavery speech. It was placed in the hands of the member from Ohio, for the purpose of eliciting from him his opinion as to whether it would be satisfactory to the anti-slavery portion of the country. The member alluded to took great interest in the matter—took the manuscript to his room—read it over attentively, and returned it with a few suggestions to make some very slight alterations, but not of the principles. It was stated by Mr. Webster, that he only waited for a good opportunity to deliver the speech before the country. And this report of Mr. Webster's intention was circulated among members of Congress, and gave great satisfaction to many. But, after this fact became known, a committee waited upon Mr. Webster, among whom were Mr. Stephens and Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, and they presented such arguments to him as to induce him to change his mind on the subject. And this convention know what sort of a speech he made on the 7th of March, 1850. This showed his treachery to Freedom to be deliberate.

Mr. J. dissented from the sentiments in favor of violence avowed by Mr. Aaron; and remarked that while the Anti-Slavery platform is open to all persons, the Society is not responsible for their opinions. By its constitution, its resolutions and uniform action, it had ever discouraged a resort to violence, and counselled a reliance upon truth and moral power.

I could not, said Mr. J., while listening to our friend, but ask myself, is that the tone in which Jesus would have spoken? Had these been the words he uttered on the Mount of Olives, by the sea-side and on Calvary, should we revere him as we now do? That men who believe in violence should act as they did at Christiana and Syracuse, was to be expected, and they who glorify the patriots of the Revolution can find no fault with them. But our weapons are only the mild arms of truth and love, weapons mightier far than sword or bayonet. Perseverance in the use of these must bring us success.

Mary Grew said that as this was the most important resolution, she was glad that there had been so much discussion upon it. It should be fully and carefully considered and deliberately adopted. It placed us in antagonism to the law of the land, and such a position was not to be rashly assumed. We have considered it well, and wish it to be distinctly understood that we shall not obey this law. We have been met with all kinds of opposition, and now our opponents come with the last argument of tyranny, saying, "Know ye not that we have power to hang ye?" May our answer be, "Know ye not that we have power to be hanged, and scorn ye?" or, better and higher still, "to be hanged and forgive ye." But in this conflict, our weapons are those only of peaceful reform. Though the preceding speaker has a right to speak his opinions freely, on our platform, we are not responsible for what he has said respecting violent resistance to oppression. On this point we do not agree with him. We have not so learned Christ. Dreadful as slavery is, terrible as are the wrongs which it inflicts on its victims, still it comes within the limit of injuries to be forgiven; and, here, as elsewhere, is applicable the law of Christ: Love your enemies, do good to those that hate you, etc. And thus has our friend (Mr. Aaron) acted.

When reviled, he had reviled not again; when, not threatened, merely, but brutally assaulted by ruffian men, he meekly, in the spirit of his Master, endured their blows, seeking neither to defend himself against them, by violence, nor, afterward, to visit them with vengeance. Thank God! his practice is better than his theory. It is not by violent resistance that evil is vanquished. We conquer even when we die. We are not a Peace Society, but we have distinctly avowed our measures to be peaceful. We do not advocate one principle of right, at the expense of another. The success of our reform depends on the rightfulness of our means. But this doctrine which we teach, is not of the world generally. They who believe in the rightfulness of violence in self-defense, of fighting in behalf of freedom, have no right to find fault with those colored men who fought at Christiana. For just such deeds, the world glorifies; almost deifies men. We, only, who reject, as unchristian, all violence and war, have a right to disapprove them. The speaker concluded by exhorting abolitionists to consider well their duties and responsibilities; to be prepared for all that might await them

In the evil days before them,  
In the trials yet to come,  
In the shadow of the prison  
Or the cruel martyrdom,

and with unfaltering hearts to adopt the resolution.

Robert Purvis had not designed to speak, but when he found an attempt made to neutralize the effect of Mr. Aaron's eloquent speech, he could not forbear thanking that gentleman, in the name of the colored people, for it. The colored man, in defending himself and his liberty, had only been true to himself, true to his family, true to liberty, and true to his God. He was glad the first battle for liberty had been fought! And believed it would excite among their oppressors more respect for the colored people; and he was gratified that one man had come forward to defend the heroic actors in the scene.

Edward M. Davis (chairman) thought it was due to the audience to say that the Anti-Slavery Society did not recommend violence of any kind; on the contrary, it employed only peaceful means for effecting this great moral reform, nor did the Society deem itself at all responsible for the remarks of Mr. Aaron or any other person who might speak upon its platform.

Mr. Aaron briefly responded, re-affirming his opinions, when the resolution (No. 3) was passed, by a unanimous *aye*, which spoke the hearty concurrence of a thousand hearts.

The subject of Finance was then taken up, and the names of Vincent Barnard and Hannah Pennoek were, on motion, added to the Finance Committee, and while the committee passed among the audience taking pledges and contributions, appeals were made in behalf of the cause by Samuel Aaron, J. M. McKim, James Mott, Jacob Paxson, Mrs. Sarah Harris, Barclay Ivins, and others.

An animated discussion ensued upon the subject of violent resistance to oppression, Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis and Chandler Darlington taking part. After remarks by Evan Pugh, upon the enormities perpetrated by the Fugitive Law, the Society adjourned to 9½ o'clock to-morrow.

#### THURSDAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Society met at the hour appointed, the President resuming the chair. The minutes of yesterday's session having been read by the Secretary and approved, it was voted that the Society adjourn, without day, at 1½ o'clock. Information was given that to accommodate persons attending the meet-

ing, the Rail Road directors had voluntarily postponed the starting of the cars for Philadelphia this afternoon, until 3½ o'clock.

James Mott, Chairman of the Committee of Forty upon ways and means, reported that the Committee had met, and after a protracted and harmonious discussion of the condition and necessities of the cause, and plans for future operations, had agreed upon the following report :

"In view of the increasing necessities of the Anti-Slavery cause, and of the increased sympathy in the community for the wronged slave, and in view of the effort that is being made by those in authority to suppress free speech, the Committee of Forty recommend the adoption of the following resolutions :

\*"That the abolitionists in each of the Districts of Eastern Pennsylvania and such parts of New Jersey and Delaware as are in sympathy with this Society, be requested to nominate and send to the Ex. Committee without delay, the name of some responsible and suitable person, to act in co-operation with the Ex. Committee in raising funds for the use of the State Society.

"That such persons be also requested to use their endeavours to obtain subscriptions for the Anti-Slavery papers, especially for the *Pennsylvania Freeman*.

"Resolved, That in the districts where no nominations are made by the residents, the appointments be made by the Executive Committee.

"Resolved, That the names of the persons thus appointed, with their Post Office address, be published in the *Freeman*, and that such publication shall be considered as their authority to act : and that said persons be requested to meet in Philadelphia, during the time of the Fair."

This report gave rise to a general and interesting discussion upon the practical measures for the promotion of the cause, and useful suggestions and counsels, and encouraging information, were given by various speakers.

After brief remarks by Mrs. Mott and J. A. Dugdale, testifying to the efficacy of circulating Anti Slavery papers,

J. M. McKim remarked, that though he was not friendly to the multiplication of plans, this met with his cordial concurrence. The design is, he said, that in every neighborhood we shall have one active abolitionist, who will feel it his duty to co-operate with the Executive Committee, in collecting funds, and extending the circulation of our paper, and in such other ways as may open. If the plan is faithfully carried out, it will enlarge our means and greatly increase our efficiency.

In encouragement to this and similar efforts to spread our principles, Mr. McK. recounted many cheering signs of the growth of anti-slavery feeling in our own country and in Europe, alluding particularly to the recent manifestations of sympathy for our cause in France, and the labors of M. Schoelcher and others there to inform the French people upon the subject and direct the sentiment of the nation against slavery throughout the world.

Oliver Johnson had noticed in parties and sects a tendency to clannishness, to keep aloof from intercourse with others. This abolitionists should avoid. They should seek to associate with men around them and thus to spread their principles. This could often be done without obtrusiveness, and with great success. He also urged the more general establishment of local and auxiliary societies, and the improvement of every opportunity, through local newspapers, in conversation and discussion, to publish our views. Much ignorance, misapprehension and prejudice would thus be removed and new allies and co-laborers be gained. Abolitionists are respected even by their enemies. They feel that we are right. They know that we have, in adherence to principle, borne reproach, opposition and persecution, and cut ourselves off from political promotion.

The President stated that was not known how wide a sympathy was felt for our cause among persons in no way identified with us, nor how large a share of the contributions to our treasury came from this source. He also gave interesting illustrations of the respect felt for open and consistent abolitionists by men hostile to us, and urged every man who would prevent the destruction of his own liberty to engage in the anti-slavery cause.

After further discussion by C. M. Burleigh, C. Darlington, M. B. Linton and others, and slight amendments, the report was unanimously adopted.

C. M. Burleigh, as chairman of the committee on Finance, reported, that yesterday's receipts of money and pledges amounted to \$743.93, which was less than the sum raised last year at the annual meeting; on the other hand it ought to be greater, as the extended plan of operations demanded by the times and already resolved upon, would this year involve larger expenses.

While the Finance Committee again passed through the audience, Thomas Whitson made an impressive appeal for aid to the cause; showing that slavery was hostile to morality, true religion, democracy, intelligence, social harmony and every good principle and institution in our government; and if not broken down it would break down all these. Can we, he added, better employ our money than to overthrow this foe to all that is good? I am poor, but I have more to contribute here than anywhere else. I do not hold that abolishing slavery is the only thing to be done for the world; but neglect this, and every other good work is incomplete.

He also moved that our collection this year be made larger than last year, and hoped that every one would second the motion by putting his hand in his pocket.

On motion it was voted that the speakers be limited to five minutes each.

The Committee on Nomination reported the following list of officers to the Society for the ensuing year.

*President*—James Mott.

*Vice Presidents*—Edward M. Davis, Benjamin C. Bacon.

*Corresponding Secretary*—J. Miller McKim.

*Recording Secretary*—Haworth Wetherald.

*Treasurer*—Sarah Pugh.

*Additional members of the Executive Committee*—Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, Margaret Jones, Cyrus M. Burleigh, B. Rush Plumly, Abby Kimber, Oliver Johnson.

The remaining resolutions reported by the Business Committee, were then taken up separately, and after brief discussion were adopted, most of them unanimously, and all without amendment, except the 8th, which was amended to read as follows:

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society is unworthy the support of philanthropists, because it deceives and misleads the nation, by professing to offer a remedy for American Slavery; because it apologizes for Slavery, and recognizes slaves as property, and because it fosters a cruel prejudice against our colored population, and by denying the possibility of their elevation in this country, and seeking their expulsion from their native land, hinders their moral and intellectual improvement.

The debate upon this resolution, resulting from objections to it, by Geo. W. Taylor of Philadelphia, was a lively and most interesting episode to the current of business. The speeches were though brief were pointed, pungent and often eloquent, and generally found a hearty response from the audi-

ence. The resolution was sustained by Oliver Johnson, Robert Purvis, Lucretia Mott, Abraham D. Shadd, Samuel Aaron, James Mott, C. M. Burleigh and James Walker, every one of its allegations being triumphantly sustained by facts and argument. The Colonization Society was weighed in the balance and found wanting. The expression from the colored men who spoke upon it, (Messrs. Purvis, Shadd and Walker) was especially emphatic in condemnation of that Society as hypocritical, heartless, cruel, and the handmaid of Slavery.

Mr. Taylor who seemed not to have been before thoroughly informed of the action of the Colonization Society, was understood to yield his objection to the resolution, and it was passed unanimously and by acclamation.

The following resolution was then presented from the Business Committee and unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, That while the subserviency to the slave power manifested by men great in intellect and influence, fills us with sorrow and indignation, we perceive indications of the progress of our enterprise, and encouragement to more vigorous effort, in the devotion to the principles of freedom manifested by many eminent men both in the Church and in the State.

J. M. McKim offered the following, which was also carried by an enthusiastic and unanimous vote:

*Resolved*, That this Society take this opportunity to express its hearty thanks that distinguished philanthropist and eloquent champion of Liberty, George Thompson, Esq. of England, for his valuable services rendered by him to the cause of anti-slavery during his recent visit to this country; and for the zeal and efficiency with which he is now laboring for its advancement in his own land.

The following resolution, offered by J. M. McKim, after brief and pertinent remarks in its support by the mover, passed unanimously, the whole audience, whether members of the Society or not, voting by special request.

*Resolved*, That our acknowledgements are due to the people of West Chester for the kindness and hospitality with which we have been treated during the sessions of this meeting, and for the respectful attention which has been given to our proceedings.

An eloquent letter from Theodore Parker in reply to an invitation to attend this anniversary was read by the Secretary.

On motion the time of adjournment was extended to  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 2. After some remarks from Ira Gibson of New Jersey, a solemn and appropriate prayer was offered by Elizabeth Paxson, its words of thanksgiving for the privileges and success of the meeting, and supplications that its good impressions might ever remain to govern our actions, finding a deep though silent response from many a heart.

The Finance Committee reported that the receipts of money and pledges amounted to \$834.00, being more than the receipts at the annual meeting last year.

The Song of the "Blind Slave Boy" was then sung by Sarah A. McKim and others, and was received with a silence more impressive than applause.

The appointed hour having arrived, the Society adjourned, and its members and friends separated with feelings of heartfelt satisfaction and gratitude, for the success of the meeting.

C. M. BURLEIGH, Secretary.